



*General di Robilant, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.*

# THIS WAS GERMANY

*An Observer at the Court of Berlin*

---

LETTERS OF PRINCESS MARIE RADZIWILL

*to*

GENERAL DI ROBILANT, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

*One time Italian Military Attaché at Berlin*

[1908-1915]

Edited and translated from the French

With an Introduction and Notes

Explaining Events

*by*

CYRIL SPENCER FOX

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## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE author of these letters, Princess Marie Radziwill, a Frenchwoman by birth, was a daughter of the marquis de Castellane and a great-niece of Prince Talleyrand. She married Prince Antoine Radziwill at the age of seventeen. Her husband, a member of this leading European family, had been a great personal friend of William, King of Prussia, and subsequently the first German Emperor, whose military aide-de-camp he was. Later he became a close friend of his grandson, the last Emperor, William II. When they were first married Princess Marie lived with her husband and his relatives in Berlin at the Radziwill Palace, since the residence of the Chancellors of the German Reich.

Princess Marie Radziwill occupied a leading position in society in Berlin and in Europe which enabled her to meet most if not all the principal actors who took part in the drama of World politics up to the outbreak of the Great War. She had one son and two daughters, Helen and "Betka." Her elder daughter "Betka," whose letters she often quotes in this correspondence, married Count Potocki, an Austrian Pole and the owner of large estates in Galicia. He was a Privy Councillor and a Chamberlain at the Court of Vienna. Her younger daughter married Count Joseph Potocki, a member of the same family. He held an appointment at the Russian Court and possessed estates in Russian Poland.

General Count Mario di Robilant, the recipient of these letters, had arrived in Berlin in the year 1885 to take up his

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appointment as the Italian Military Attaché. He brought with him a letter of introduction to the Radziwills from his cousin, Count Charles di Robilant, then Italian Foreign Minister and the husband of Countess Clary Aldringen, who was a cousin of Prince Antoine Radziwill. Although the General left Berlin in 1889, those four years had sufficed to engender a warm and valued friendship which lasted until Princess Marie Radziwill's death in 1915.

After he left Berlin the General spent several years in the Near East and for a time he was the Italian military representative in Macedonia under the Muerzsteg Programme. During the War he commanded the Fourth Army and later he was the principal military representative of his country at the Peace Conference at Versailles. After peace had been signed General di Robilant retired from the army, in which he had served for more than fifty years, to his estates and he is now a member of the Italian Senate. He was created a Knight Commander of the Bath and a Great Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George by the late King George V.

When this volume of Letters opens Prince Bernard von Bülow's term of office as Imperial Chancellor and Prussian Minister President was drawing to a close. The post of Imperial Chancellor of the German Empire had been inaugurated by Bismarck. His object seems to have been to create a position for himself which would enable him to enjoy almost unlimited power in the name of the Emperor for the direction of affairs. With this in view the first Chancellor induced the first German Emperor, William I, to issue in his capacity as German Emperor a manifesto to the effect that it was a constitutional right of the King of Prussia and his successors to conduct the policy of their Governments personally, and consequently that it would be an erroneous idea

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to assume that because the counter-signature of a responsible minister was required to royal decisions, therefore government documents were independent of royal decisions. It followed from this that Kings of Prussia and German Emperors were to all intents Autocrats. The Government of the Empire was nominally in the hands of a Bundesrat or representative assembly of the Federal Princes and the Reichstag—an Imperial Chamber of Deputies elected on a democratic basis (universal manhood suffrage with certain exceptions which were subsequently removed). The several States each possessed two Diets, of which the most important were the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament in Prussia. And it had been decided by Bismarck that the office of German Imperial Chancellor should also embrace the portfolio of Prussian Minister President (although Bismarck's successor, General Caprivi, did renounce the latter post in favour of Prince Botho Eulenburg at one time whilst retaining the Chancellorship). In other words, the idea was that the Prime Minister of Prussia should also be the Prime Minister of the Empire, and in this dual capacity the Chancellor if he were so inclined was not only responsible for the Empire's foreign policy, but he initiated it. The Principal Secretaries of State were in a subordinate position and did not possess the ear of the All Highest as did the Chancellor under whose orders they seem to have been. Later when Herr von Bethmann Hollweg was at the helm—previously he had spent all his life in the Home Civil Service and he left his previous appointment as Secretary of State for Home Affairs to become the Imperial Chancellor and consequently knew nothing of foreign politics—Herr von Kiderlen Waechter, a determined and strong-willed diplomatist de Carrière, became the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and as such he conducted German foreign policy. Although Herr Kiderlen was largely responsible for the Agadir



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Crisis in 1911, it is none the less a paradoxical misfortune that he was no longer in charge of the Foreign Office and affairs when the final Balkan crisis came in the summer of 1914—he had died in December 1913—because he would not have been likely to have permitted Austria to have her way. He had more than once pointed out that it was the duty of the Ballhausplatz to inform the Wilhelmstrasse beforehand if any move were in contemplation which might be likely to affect Germany's obligations under the Treaty of Alliance. But at that fatal time Herr von Jagow, who had succeeded Kiderlen—a very different personality—was in charge of foreign affairs.

In Bülow's day Baron von Schoen was the Foreign Secretary until he supplanted Prince Radolin as Ambassador in Paris in the summer of 1910 and was himself replaced by Kiderlen at the Wilhelmstrasse. The German Ambassador in London at this time was Count Wolff-Metternich, who was much respected and liked by King Edward and King George. He retired in May 1912 when he was succeeded by Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, but the latter died suddenly from heart failure the following August and was replaced by Prince Lichnowski. Mr. Harold Nicolson describes the Prince in his *Biography of Lord Carnock* as "a great gentleman." London seems to have been fortunate in the choice of German and other foreign Ambassadors accredited to the Court of St. James's in the years preceding the outbreak of war.

This is perhaps the moment to mention a curious phenomenon. Although, as has been pointed out, strong-willed Chancellors such as Prince Bismarck and Prince Bülow not only were responsible for but carried out their own foreign policies, there was in the Foreign Office, buried away like a snake in the basement, a hard-working civil servant, Fritz von Holstein. It was a most extraordinary state of affairs, but this

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sinister figure would appear to have exerted a mysterious and powerful influence upon all four Chancellors under whom he served, Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe and Bülow. Bismarck sent him as a young diplomatist to the Paris Embassy, it is believed as a sort of spy, to supervise and report on Count Arnim when the latter was German Ambassador there in the early seventies (Bismarck had feared that Arnim was intriguing with the Monarchists in France and influencing his Imperial Master, William I, behind his back). This conduct is presumed to have reflected upon Holstein's reputation, that in consequence he had been ostracised by all his friends and that this had turned him into a recluse. Whatever the truth, the fact remains that Holstein was an extremely able and unscrupulous diplomatist and an arch intriguer. He was reputed to have had his own spies in all the important capitals and to have received secret reports from underlings over the heads of their Chefs de Mission. The Emperor William II writes of him in his memoirs, ". . . Holstein exerted his far-reaching influence from under cover . . . he preferred to remain in the dark and exert his influence from there. He refused every responsible post . . . every titular honour, every promotion . . . His memoranda were often as ambiguous as the Oracles of Delphi ; there were occasions when after a decision based on the contents of one of his own documents had been taken, Herr von Holstein would prove that he had meant precisely the opposite of what had been thought. I considered it a serious matter that an irresponsible Counsellor should exercise such powerful influence . . . matters had developed to such an extent that Holstein conducted a great part of our foreign affairs . . . To Herr von Tschirschky (subsequently German Ambassador in Vienna—Editor) . . . belongs the merit of finally bringing this unendurable state of affairs to an end. . . ." Immediately after his departure Baron von Holstein hastened

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to Maximilien Harden, the Jewish publicist at whose disposal he placed himself for the latter's notorious campaign against the Emperor and his friends. This is discussed in a Note on the Eulenburg scandal at the end of the book.

The Imperial Chancellor was not only appointed to but removed from office by the Emperor's will and not at the will of Parliament. As a consequence the Imperial Diet—the Reichstag which was representative of every shade of political thought in Germany—there were as many as eighteen different parties represented there—remained in practice a mere debating Chamber. Scandals could be ventilated and discussed, votes recorded, laws were passed, but the Government—that is to say, the Chancellor—really governed Prussia and the Empire in the name and on behalf of the Emperor.

The chief Parliamentary Parties were the Conservative, who as the landowning class represented agrarian interests; the National Liberals, actually more conservative than liberal, who were the representatives of middle-class industrialism; the Radicals, who were more venturesome than the National Liberals; the Social Democrats, representative of labour and embracing socialists, republicans, communists and other left-wing elements; and the Catholic Centre Party. Conservative in being and confessional, this party represented Roman Catholics of all classes in the Nation and exercised considerable power. For not only do Roman Catholics amount to a considerable proportion of the population of Germany, but their position in the Reichstag enabled the Centre to bargain with the other Parties for their favours, and more often than not they were supported by the Poles and the Alsatians. Thus the Catholic Centre Party was perhaps at times the strongest and most influential section of the Diet.

A main preoccupation of politicians at home in the years preceding the fall of Prince Bülow, the fourth Imperial

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Chancellor, had been the striking of an even balance between the great agricultural and the becoming ever greater industrial interests. Bismarck had increased the duties on corn in 1885 and again in 1887; General Caprivi, his successor, had weighted the scales slightly in favour of the industrialists by his commercial policy and the Treaties which he had negotiated in 1891, by which Germany's agricultural duties were lowered and other countries reduced their duties on industrial products. The result had been a great increase in the value of Germany's trade with the treaty countries. Caprivi had recognised the importance of industry and the fact that Germany had ceased to be a purely agricultural country. After his departure the Agrarians desired the abandonment of the Caprivi Treaties, but Prince Hohenlohe followed his predecessor's policy and resisted their demands for the reimposition of higher agricultural duties. The sympathies of Prince Bülow, who had succeeded Prince Hohenlohe as Imperial Chancellor in 1900, were with the landowning class. He professed his desire to maintain the balance equitably, but from the nature of things his task was a peculiarly difficult one. Germany's commerce, trade, industry and population had been increasing at an enormous rate. He now had to consider what should take the place of Caprivi's commercial Treaties which were to expire at the end of 1903. If high duties were to be placed on agricultural imports in favour of the Conservative Agrarians, the industrialists and the left wing would complain of the rise in the price of food. If the industrialists were favoured, then the Agrarians, who maintained that Prussia, the predominant German State, was primarily agricultural, would declare that they were being neglected. When the time came the new duties, which were passed by a majority composed of the Centre, the Conservative and the National Liberal Parties, were indeed increased in the case of agricultural pro-

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ducts, but the duties on several industrial articles were increased as well. Rising prices and food riots resulted.

Other preoccupations had been the development of an overseas colonial empire, the Prussianisation of Prussia's Polish provinces, progressive modifications in the government of the incorporated provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, the building up of a powerful fleet professedly for the protection of a rapidly increasing overseas trade but also to gratify a personal whim of Germany's autocratic ruler and later also the ambitions of his naval adviser, Admiral von Tirpitz, constant additions to the army in proportion with the rapid increase of Germany's population—the size of the army was based on 1 per cent of the total population of the Nation—the widening of existing and the construction of new canals—the Kiel Canal connecting the Baltic and North Seas had been completed in 1895 and in 1905 deepening operations were undertaken and it was reopened in June 1914—the means to pay for all these various activities, the struggle against Social Democracy, demands for a new electoral law in Prussia where there existed a three-class system of voters which was unfair and produced results which did not correspond with existing conditions or the new distribution of population, and the strikes and riots which took place in connection therewith, and in particular the Emperor's increasingly manifested desire to direct affairs himself in person. This tendency was becoming a serious embarrassment and the Princess has much to say about it.

Abroad, German foreign policy had to take into account French sensitiveness to a declining birth-rate, France's alliance with Russia and her entente with Great Britain which was becoming less and less platonic, Russian Panslavism with its repercussions on the Balkans and Austria-Hungary's policy there, Russian designs on Constantinople and her aspirations

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regarding the Straits, Aerenthal's forward and sometimes dangerous policy combined with the bellicose attitude of the Austrian Chief of Staff, General Conrad von Hoetzendorf with his anti-Italian bias, the continued preservation of the Triple Alliance in face of these difficulties and at all costs (which indeed it proved to be), a profound sense of isolation in the continent of Europe and in her eyes the increasing menace of a simultaneous and combined attack upon both fronts by Russia and France and uncertainty as to England's attitude or intentions in this event in an age when war was still universally considered a sound expedient for the settlement of international disputes ! Thus was the stage set for the events upon which Princess Marie Radziwill so ably comments and so plainly foresees in this volume of her letters to General di Robilant.

The original French Edition of these Letters has been extremely well annotated by Countess Irene di Robilant, the General's eldest daughter, but to save readers the trouble of constantly referring to footnotes it has been thought it might be a convenience to those who are not familiar with or who may have forgotten the facts to include notes at the end of the book, giving a rough outline of the problems, events, and incidents to which reference has been made in this correspondence.<sup>1</sup> If further knowledge is required of the history of the German Empire and German foreign policy, the Editor would refer readers to W. H. Dawson's *The German Empire* and Erich Brandenburg's admirable history of the foreign policy of the Powers, *From Bismarck to the World War*, which has been of considerable assistance in the compilation

<sup>1</sup> These have been placed at the end of the book rather than at the end of the relevant chapters so as not to interfere with the continuity of the Letters, and are in three sections : Germany, Morocco, and the "Eastern Question."

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of the notes at the end of this book. The Eastern Question is very lucidly explained by Sir John Marriott in his book *The Eastern Question*.

The Editor's very special thanks are due to Mr. Philip de Laszlo for his kindness in permitting two of his paintings, that of the Duchess of Brunswick and Lüneburg as a girl and that of Count Berchtold, to be reproduced in this book. The other three volumes have not been translated into English, as it was felt that the fourth and last volume was the most important.

<sup>1</sup> And in W. J. Miller's *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors*.

## *Chapter I*

1908

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*Berlin, 2nd January, 1908.*

YESTERDAY I was with the Empress. She's back from Potsdam and will now stay on in Berlin. She told me that the Emperor is very distressed by the death of his old tutor Hintzpeter who has just died at Bielefeldt. She still speaks with enthusiasm of their visit to England and of how the Emperor could scarcely bring himself to come away. I thought to myself we're always going from one extreme to another. One day we're in a fury against England and her King . . . the next we're praising them up to the skies. All this exhibits a lack of balance and forethought which is deplorable.

I saw several Ambassadors during the day. They had been with the Emperor this morning. They all told me that he was well, thin, which is what he wants to be, because it's the fashion, very much on the go, and very loquacious, talking politics for a long (probably too long) time with each Ambassador and that he didn't seem in the least pre-occupied . . .

*Berlin, 6th January, 1908.*

. . . I have had several opportunities of talking to the new French Ambassador here. M. Cambon certainly has great character and wit, his conversation is subtle, he is exceptionally



### *Achilléon*

shrewd and he is already quite at home on the new ground on which he is obliged to manoeuvre at present. He is a great acquisition and he will certainly be a more brilliant figure than his predecessor. All the same Bihourd was not lacking in good sense and he was very prudent about Algeciras.<sup>1</sup> We can't deny this after studying his despatches published in the Yellow Book and we must be fair to him.

*Berlin, 10th January, 1908.*

At Corfu, in this wonderful Achilléon which the Emperor has purchased for several millions, there isn't room to house all the Imperial family and so it has been necessary to add a further wing and to build a separate house for the forty-two members of the Court. To furnish Achilléon three royal castles have been stripped, amongst them Rheinberg which once belonged to Prince Henry, brother of Frederick the Great and one of the heroes of the seven years' war. Rheinberg has always been held in special affection. Three large boats are on their way to Greece filled with all this furniture. These things gradually become known and this has an unfortunate effect on the public. Discontent is caused by all this money leaving the country. All this stuff belonging to the royal treasury going to another part of the world to satisfy a temporary whim distresses people who are conservatively minded and it upsets their loyalty.

*Berlin, 14th January, 1908.*

There was considerable alarm at the Schloss yesterday.<sup>2</sup> Mounted police with loaded revolvers in their belts were obliged to isolate the Sovereign's residence and mounted patrols rode on the pavements in Unter den Linden to clear the crowd away. I don't believe the Streets of Berlin have

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Morocco," pp. 350-7.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

been so disturbed since 1848 . . . I am told the Emperor is in a great state of nerves and is quite beside himself. Only now is he beginning to realise where the fatal policy which he has been following for the past three years is leading. He keeps on repeating he has been badly advised and he accuses everyone and asks why nobody was frank with him, forgetting that he himself has never permitted anyone whoever it might be to let him know the true state of affairs.

I have just had a letter forwarded on from the country, here is an extract. "We are on a dizzy march towards a great revolution. Our leaders are blind. The Ministry has given orders to government employees not to touch their salaries on the first of the month, but to take what they require to carry them over a few days in the form of cheques so that the government coffers shan't be entirely exhausted. That's pretty near bankruptcy. And Bülow takes an enormous sum for expropriating <sup>1</sup> the Poles, to whom the Constitution has granted the same right to breath as the unhappy Chinese who live in Prussia. Where are common rights? It is sad to see such a great and powerful country collapsing before one's eyes." And this letter is written by a German!

Monsieur Cambon has had not a little worry I think with all that has been put upon the shoulders of the unfortunate Monsieur Lecomte <sup>2</sup> whom Holstein <sup>3</sup> has never been able to forgive for being invited by the Emperor personally during the latter's visit to Prince Eulenburg at Liebenberg last winter. Happily Cambon has unusual tact, much wit and knows how to manage. I often see him here and I am always struck by those qualities which he knows so well how to display on

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Polish Problem," pp. 335-6.

<sup>2</sup> See Notes on "Morocco," and "The Eulenburg Scandal," pp. 337-9.

<sup>3</sup> See Note on "The Eulenburg Scandal," and "Morocco," pp. 350-7.

*Morocco*

the prickly ground of Berlin where he is still very much of a stranger.

*Berlin, 19th January, 1908.*

. . . In Morocco France's position is bad and is costing a mint of money. If it is all turning out like this I feel sure it is Germany's fault. It was three years ago that this hare was started from here. Then we appeared determined to pursue the matter vigorously to the end, now all of a sudden the Emperor seems to detach himself from a Question which he himself had done so much to excite, and I don't believe he wants to hear it even mentioned any more. It was this which made Cambon say, yesterday, that in the Emperor's character there was too much spontaneity, impetuosity, and even violence, but there was also a certain shyness which restrained him at the last minute and hindered him from achieving something begun with quite terrifying vigour. I think the two things can be combined when a Sovereign is gifted with an unreflecting and fiery temperament which is at the same time good at bottom and which makes him anxious to help those living under his personal authority. I've noticed he's often afraid. I ask myself where we are going with a ruler who certainly has great qualities but whose nature, not sufficiently fashioned for that fate which destiny has reserved for him, lacks altogether the necessary balance for governing the nation which it has pleased God to entrust to his hands.

*Berlin, 22nd January, 1908.*

On Sunday I went to the festivities in connection with the "Orders" and Their Majesties thanked me for coming. The Emperor doesn't look at all well and he appears a mass of nerves. He began by telling me it was a century since

he'd seen me and been able to have a talk. "I haven't as a matter of fact seen Your Majesty since March," I replied, "but I have always followed the Emperor everywhere he has been from the papers. I venture to say the Windsor visit gave me great pleasure." "Yes," he replied, "it was a long desired *rapprochement* and everything went off very well, but what I enjoyed most of all was Kiel, where I saw several French aristocrats." "I know, Sir, that my cousin the duc de Rohan was there and that he returned much struck by the race in which Your Majesty was in command with so much success." "Yes, there was a frightful wind. The Duke was with me with several others of his countrymen. There was considerable danger and they wanted to furl sail, but I stopped this and my audacity won us the race. You should have seen the enthusiasm of the French, of the duc de Rohan amongst others. . . . It was a real pleasure for me. During the summer I also met Prince Victor Napoleon who made a great impression on me. There is nothing French about him, he is slow, and heavy and he appears to have studied all questions of government. It seems to me that he would make a very good sovereign." "I think," I replied, "his chances are very slender. They are accustomed to the Republic now in France, and unhappily they are becoming less attached to the idea of a monarchy. A sentiment which is becoming stronger every day." Then the Emperor looked at me and said with a sigh, "And this Republic is our next door neighbour." I didn't wish to bring up this word thinking that I'd said enough and that the Emperor had caught my idea. He said once again Prince Victor's face resembled King Victor Emmanuel II and that he had nothing of the Neapolitan about him—then he continued his round.

The Empress spoke to me after dinner. She was very anxious about last week's troubles, said she feared there

*Riots—The Empress—Prince Bülow*

might be a renewal and that the Emperor was very put out. I allowed myself to say that when I reached the Castle it was well occupied by soldiers and I hoped these armed forces would make an impression on the crowd ; but that I must confess that such things had not been seen in Berlin since 1848, and I feared we were only at the beginning of a serious crisis. It would be necessary for her to summon all her courage so that the Emperor might be well informed of all that was happening, of public opinion, etc., in order to combat in good time all the dangers of widespread discontent which unfortunately could not be ignored. To do this did not necessarily entail violence, but required moral strength which perhaps made a deeper impression. The Empress thanked me for having spoken so frankly to her and left me with the feeling that hers was no easy task with a husband who was so highly strung. I can well believe it, especially as neither understands the exact position. The Emperor doesn't grasp the significance of the faults which he has committed. The Empress is a good and admirable woman, but she never reads a paper and hasn't an idea of what is happening in politics. Bülow is worn out—threadbare——He's always making promises but never keeps them, and wishing to please everybody he's only succeeded in achieving the opposite and people are tired of it. But the Emperor supports him and here everything depends on the latter's will. A vote in the Chamber wouldn't bring about the Chancellor's fall if the Emperor wanted to keep him. . . .

*Berlin, 26th January, 1908.*

. . . Delcassé's re-appearance on the scenes is characteristic and I think marks a change of direction in Morocco and condemns Germany's policy on this question. This appears to me full of significance for the future.

*Berlin, 29th January, 1908.*

Bad weather lent a rather sad atmosphere to the Emperor's birthday this year. I felt it my duty to go to the theatre and I found myself as usual in the same box with the Ambassadors and Bülow. I was able to have a moment's conversation with the latter. I found an alarming change in his outward appearance, very thin, he had aged terribly and had such a discontented expression on his face it was not difficult to surmise that he is in particular discontented with himself. It's true, one might have known it, if only because he has been so unsuccessful everywhere, and he must feel everyone's had enough of him, for throughout Germany they're shouting "Down with Bülow" as loudly as possible.

Few of the federal Princes came for the festivities, the royal box was scarcely full. All this shows considerable lack of zeal . . . one must await the sequel . . .

Delcassé's speech was not appreciated here, but as we're afraid of everything at the present time the papers immediately received orders to the effect that nothing was to be noticed save the language of someone out of temper and consequently of not the least significance ; that Pichon would put matters right again. Pichon has in fact spoken and in Germany much is made of the moderation of his speech and the firmness with which he kept to the Algeciras promises. All that doesn't mean much. Germany is at present sitting on the fence, which is quite the opposite of her policy of ten years ago. I don't know why she's changed but at present she doesn't want to give an impression of feeling the slightest pin-prick from Paris.

*Berlin, 3rd February, 1908.*

. . . I have just been brought a newspaper which gives very sad news. The King of Portugal and his eldest son

### *King of Portugal Assassinated*

killed, his second son, King to-day, wounded. The Queen who was in the same carriage is the only one who was uninjured in this frightful catastrophe. Queen Amelia is said to be pious and charming and will know how to find the requisite courage to help her young son in his new duties as King, for which incidentally he is probably quite unprepared. But what an alarm signal for all Sovereigns. And how they will have to redouble their skill to be able to reign, govern and make themselves respected . . .

*Berlin, 7th February, 1908.*

The details which the newspapers give about Lisbon are revolting. Poor Queen Amelia was also wounded and in the shoulder. It is upon her that all the weight of affairs will now fall. She won't have an easy task. If I were in her place I think I should try and put the finances in order to begin with. These must be in a terrible state. More than ever finance is the basis of everything in all countries. It is their pulse and a good pulse is necessary for a life of any security.

The Emperor had appointed Prince Leopold to represent him at the funeral at Lisbon, but he refused to go, and so they made Prince Eitel Fritz, the Emperor's second son. He left last night. Formerly a Prince would never have dared to refuse. Orders were given, one submitted to them and one only answered with a "yes" without adding the smallest mental reservation . . . Everything is changed now and the Princes themselves are giving a rebellious example. It's nice !

*Berlin, 11th February, 1908.*

You will have seen from the papers that the commission appointed by the Upper House has rejected the Law against

the Poles by eighteen votes to seven<sup>1</sup> . . . However, the more people try to hinder the accomplishment of this injustice the more the Emperor appears to excite himself madly to bring it about and the more he insists upon its being settled. It is as though a fury had taken possession of him. One asks oneself whether he isn't rather mad. Many people are afraid of this, foreigners more so than the Germans themselves. They fear he may get an attack one day and set the world on fire without any warning. This reminds me of a conversation which I had with the British Ambassador the other day. He is cool-headed, calm and is well acquainted with the terrain of this country to which he has been accredited for at least ten years. "At any moment something serious might happen with a character which lets itself go to such an extent as the Emperor's," he said to me. "We diplomats who are accredited to the Court here, we haven't a safe moment. We begin and end our days in fear and trembling." Also Lascelles has had enough of this post, he has asked for his recall and in July we shall have the regret of seeing him retire into private life.

*Berlin, 14th February, 1908.*

Our political preoccupations have grown rather than diminished. On to our many internal troubles is grafted the tension which has arisen between Austria and Russia.<sup>2</sup> These two countries are at daggers drawn since Aerenthal's clumsy declarations. No-one can conceive how he can have taken up such a position *vis-à-vis* the Balkan Question without an understanding with Iswolski at St. Petersburg. People are very shocked at this method of doing things and everyone is repeating that Goluchowski would never have acted

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Polish Problem," pp. 355-6.

<sup>2</sup> See Note on "Macedonia," pp. 366-71.



### *Austro-Russian Tension—Finances*

in this way even if he was by nature fond of the good things of this world, and that he was more considerate in his actions and wiser in his enterprises. The Austrian Ambassador told me Aerenthal was a man who possessed only a very limited horizon, that he was totally lacking in knowledge of the world and of Europe in particular. The fact is he has placed his country in great difficulty and one feels the repercussions here owing to the vicinity of Russia which is in the worst possible humour. The Emperor is in a great state. He knows quite well things are going very badly but what he does not realise is that if he lets his nerves go all to pieces this won't cure anything. From morning till night he's on the move, his motor-car goes up and down the Linden twenty times a day . . . he talks without stopping, likes to surprise people by suddenly coming on them, laughs in great outbursts, doesn't give himself time to work, keeps everyone on the *qui vive*, and suddenly dismisses several officers, ministers, servants, nobody knows why. Briefly everyone trembles, for each feels he may be the one to be attacked at any minute, all of which leads to a very uneasy life. He has not succeeded as yet in finding a minister for the Treasury ; Stengel leaves this billet and doesn't want to hear it mentioned. Everyone fears taking it on because the evil is without remedy so long as expenses which go on increasing aren't diminished. Bülow is ill from it but hides his cares under the cloak of "Influenza."

*Berlin, 25th-27th February, 1908.*

After seventeen refusals Bülow has got hold of an employé, Mr. Sydow, for the post. He has made him a Secretary of State in the Treasury of the Empire. But in order to secure him he was obliged to give him the title of Prussian Minister with the right of participating in Prussian ministerial Councils.

It was only upon these conditions that Sydow accepted. But this considerably diminishes the position of the Prussian Finance Minister. Sydow must be a good speaker and the Government hope that by his eloquence he will end by obtaining the taxation necessary to balance the budget. . . .

Helen writes me from St. Petersburg. "Alarming rumours of war against Turkey were circulating yesterday and the day before, occasioned no doubt by the fall on the Bourse.<sup>1</sup> An official *communiqué* has appeared this morning to quiet people. The British Ambassador with whom I dined yesterday appeared very calm, but in those military circles which surround the Czar they are very angry with England and mistrust her. People are doing their utmost to bring about the fall of Iswolski, who is being attacked on all sides by the Press. Someone in the intimate circle of the Czar said to me, "this English Convention is the undoing of Russia."

Proof of the atmosphere which surrounds the Sovereign.

Berlin, 6th March, 1908.

Yesterday I saw Baron Thielmann, the old Finance Minister of the Empire. He described to me the expense which the Journeys to Corfu occasioned and he added, "The Emperor is insatiable about money, for the army, the railways, canals, the navy, and his own trips." And when I asked him how it would end he answered, "In a short while the Emperor will have exhausted his civil list. Then he will approach Parliament for an increase and he will be blamed for Achilléon and the rest. The socialists won't be sparing of threats, and Parliament won't find the money which only serves to make our Emperor make a fool of himself." I had allowed myself so many illusions about the Emperor's character and the

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Macedonia," pp. 336-71.

### *The Emperor's Letter to Lord Tweedmouth*

German Government it is not surprising if one feels put out when the scales have fallen from one's eyes.

I received a letter this morning from a German of which I give you an extract. "There is nothing more cruel or unjust than this law against the Poles.<sup>1</sup> It will only benefit the Slav party. The day when there is a war between Germany and Russia all the Russian, Austrian and Bohemian Poles will turn against us. I only hope that the author of this odious law will be punished. It is sad to feel oneself governed by people who are so incompetent."

*Berlin, 10th March, 1908.*

We were still under the blow of the Polish Law when the revelation was made by *The Times*<sup>2</sup> about a letter which the Emperor wrote to Lord Tweedmouth on the subject of British and German naval policy. It appears it's true that Bülow didn't know the first word about it and this time he's knocked absolutely flat. In short, never has such unparalleled imprudence, lack of tact, and abysmal forgetfulness of the position of the Head of a State been seen before. I am beginning to be absolutely convinced our Sovereign isn't well and that his brain is no longer quite normal. If it had been clear, he would never have committed such an appalling blunder as this last. This time it's really worse than a bloomer.

To-day there is to be a question in the House of Lords and God knows what it will bring us. All this time King Edward is amusing himself in Paris and rubbing his hands at seeing his nephew behaving with such incredible stupidity. Here one sees only consternation on people's faces. They are trying to explain this story by saying that Lord Tweedmouth

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Polish Problem," pp. 335-6.

<sup>2</sup> See Note on *The Times* letter, pp. 336-7.

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*Published by "The Times"*

has been indiscreet and that he should have kept the letter to himself. I don't find this a valid reason. It is certain that the Emperor, as we know him, only wrote it because he hoped to influence British naval construction in such a way as to give himself more time for the German programme. . . . It was this which the English wished to divulge, and as *The Times* detests Germany this organ was used for making this manoeuvre public. There are undoubtedly treacherous depths on both sides, as well as the peculiar desire of the Emperor's to direct everything in this world. For a long time now his character has been becoming more and more autocratic, liking to give advice when it was not wanted and wishing to dominate everything. . . .

Yesterday in the British Parliament the government replied satisfactorily, and we must hope thanks to the attitude of King Edward and the cool-headedness of his ministers matters will settle themselves without further trouble.

*Berlin, 14th March, 1908.*

The Emperor on his return from Heligoland gave his annual dinner to the Ambassadors. Yesterday I saw two of them and both told me that the Emperor appeared gayer than is his wont and very pleased with himself. He had his jokes with the British Ambassador to whom he chatted in playful tones. Cambon told me the story of this unfortunate letter appeared to have afforded him pleasure rather than annoyance and that it was not causing him the smallest embarrassment. To someone who spoke seriously to him about it I know His Majesty declared he didn't see the least gravity in this incident, and that he was ready to begin again ! ! That forebodes something. This wonderful unconcern has not however captured everyone here. Bülow was so horrified on reading the fact in the newspapers that he arrived

*Repercussions—"Les Huguenots"*

at the same moment as Schoen<sup>1</sup> at the British Embassy, beside himself to discover if it were true. When Lascelles said it was in fact true Bülow fell back into his armchair with his head thrown back and his face so red Lascelles thought the Chancellor was going to have a fit on the spot.

Feeling here has been considerable and has not increased the Sovereign's popularity. He has not shown himself to be a circumspect diplomatist in spite of all his pretensions of knowing how to manage the affairs of his country alone. The English have outwitted him this time. The Liberal Cabinet knew how to meet so dangerous an attack with remarkable cool-headedness and dignity. The Ministers were able to give him a lesson, but I fear it will not prove effective with someone whose pen runs away with him too easily and is so imprudent . . . Lord Lansdowne said in his extremely able speech that Lord Tweedmouth had shown the letter to Sir Edward Grey, but the truth is the latter didn't know about it and Lord Lansdowne wanted to shield the Emperor and Lord Tweedmouth by an assertion which would calm public opinion.

*Berlin, 19th March, 1908.*

. . . The Emperor, whose head is always pre-occupied with a thousand ideas at a time, now imagines he wants to arrange a special performance of "Les Huguenots." He has sent artists to France to paint scenes of the château of Chenonceau on the spot. And the other day at dinner he announced to the French Ambassador that he was inviting two directors of the Paris Opera to come here and help. The Ambassador who didn't know a word about it was nearly flabbergasted. Parisian Directors of Opera aren't people of our world like the Comptrollers here in Berlin, they are merely managers,

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 4.

1908]

*"Les Huguenots"*

and you can imagine what a picture they will make in the box with the Emperor or at table, because he wants to invite them.

It appears when the Emperor announced his intention of shooting in Albania while in residence at Corfu, the Sultan <sup>1</sup> let him know that he would be obliged to send five regiments there to protect him as the country was so unsafe. It is said the Emperor thereupon thanked him and gave up the plan. Thank goodness ! But he will invent something else which won't be any better.

*Berlin, 26th March, 1908.*

For the last fortnight the Emperor has only had one thought, this performance of "Les Huguenots." As I've already mentioned, the show took place on Monday and you haven't an idea what idiotic things this made him say. On Sunday he remained standing for several hours on end at the general rehearsal, on one side of him were Cambon and Laguiche, the two Paris Managers on his other. At a given moment he started thundering against the Catholics for having assassinated his ancestor, Admiral Coligny. As Laguiche permitted himself to laugh, he said to him, "Are you a Catholic then ?" At another moment turning towards the French Ambassador the Emperor said to him, "I often feel myself more French than German." One would think that at times His Majesty doesn't know what he's saying. And would you believe it ! He's just gone off for a couple of months' holiday without having discussed matters with any of his ministers. They had a great deal they wanted to say to him but he always answered that he hadn't the time and they had only to get in touch with Bülow.

The Chancellor himself has scarcely seen him these last days on account of these perpetual Rehearsals for "Les Huguenots."

<sup>1</sup> Abdul Hamid II, Sultan of Turkey, 1876-1909.

*Paris—M. Pichon—General de Lacroix*

After Corfu the Emperor will go for a tour in Sicily and then he is expected at the Court of Vienna from the tenth to the twelfth of May. From Vienna he goes to the Black Forest to shoot Capper and for a visit to Wiesbaden for the theatre there which he patronises.

*Paris, 15th April, 1908.*

I have of course seen lots of People since I got here. Alas there remains not one single friend of old days. This is a gap which cannot be filled, because young people of to-day are not in any way to be compared with the older generation. . . .

The other day Herr von Stumm, formerly Ambassador at Madrid, passed through here, and I know from Radolin<sup>1</sup> who asked him how things were in Berlin that he answered, "Pretty bad, but people are managing as well as they can to keep things going during the present Emperor's 'reign.'"

Radolin also confided to me it was Schwabach who provided the Emperor with money to pay for Achilléon last year, and that was why he had been ennobled. At what interest did he lend this money? I don't know, but I don't believe it can have been cheap.

*Paris, 23rd April, 1908.*

Yesterday I was at a big dinner with the Radolins. I was put between Monsieur Pichon and General de Lacroix who is charming. I can assure you conversation didn't pause for an instant. I could only speak well of Cambon to Pichon who asked me a lot about him. He thereupon let himself go about Radolin, who, he said, is a great help to him in difficulties and German quibbles which occur only too frequently, and he ended by imploring me to use my influence in Berlin to keep Radolin in Paris as long as possible. Pichon has his wits

<sup>1</sup> German Ambassador in Paris.

1908]      *Philip Eulenburg—An Unfortunate Speech*

about him and I was able to notice with what diplomacy he managed to keep quiet when necessary. Madame Pichon seemed very nice.

General de Lacroix who has often attended manœuvres in Germany spoke with a certain anxiety about the Emperor, also about all that has been happening there during the past year. He finds the army profoundly affected by all these wretched trials. Another one is now beginning again in Munich<sup>1</sup> and God knows what more will come out there. All this exposure of filth is bad for public health.

As the Emperor was hoping for the acquittal of Prince Eulenburg with a view to a reconciliation with Moltke, the new details which he will learn about present happenings in Bavaria will spoil his Corfu holiday for him. It's lamentable.

*Mankiewiczze, 21st May, 1908.*

The Emperor William made an odd speech inaugurating the restoration of the old castle of Hohkönigsburg in Alsace . . . He has once more been trumpeting the benefits of German civilisation. This is however very young compared with that of France . . . It was an unfortunate speech because the French are again put out. You can understand their laughing at the Arms of the Hohenzollerns being placed by the Emperor beside those of Charles the Fifth and at the absurdity of making those peasant boys march past His Majesty singing songs of bygone days. In Germany this is already creating a deplorable effect. I leave to your imagination the hilarity this produces abroad. . . .

*Mankiewiczze, 25th May, 1908.*

The papers here say that the letters seized at the house of Prince Eulenburg compromise people in the very highest

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Eulenburg Scandal," pp. 337-9.



### *Edward VII—Baron Holstein*

places at Court ; French papers don't mention it. Nevertheless I tremble to think of what may be forthcoming at any moment.

The Emperor has returned suddenly to Berlin from Donaueschingen with Bülow, excusing himself at the last minute from a dinner of the lesser Princes at Frankfort to which he had promised to go.

Harden is receiving numerous letters signed by leading people threatening him with death if he goes on with his campaign against Eulenburg.<sup>1</sup>

*Mankiewiczze, 29th May, 1908.*

At this moment the papers are full of the visit of the King of England to Russia and that of Fallières to London, to be followed by a visit to Peterhof.

Poor Germany corroded at home by these obscene cases and encircled abroad by Edward the Seventh is in a bad way. In this latter connection people are feeling exasperated and extremely nervous. Holstein has been interviewed and shows himself more embittered towards France than ever.<sup>2</sup> He accuses her of every disagreeable happening and allows an irritation which is very dangerous to the peace of the world to manifest itself.

*Kleinitz, 2nd June, 1908.*

I found a letter here from Vienna from my daughter Betka. She says, "Just think, I've heard from an unimpeachable source that when the Emperor William was here last he approached our Emperor to beg for a loan of thirty million Kroner from his private funds. The Archduchess Valerie, Francis Joseph's second daughter who has ten children, got

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Eulenburg Scandal," pp. 337-9.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, pp. 5.

1908]      *Francis Joseph refuses a Loan—Reval*

to hear of this and made such a fuss that the Austrian Emperor refused, all the more, as he said, since the fifteen millions which he had already advanced the Emperor William when he last visited Austria for the funeral of the Archduke Albert had not been repaid. It appears as if the stay at Corfu and the German Emperor's travels with an enormous suite have again cost a frightful lot."

I see in the newspapers that the Emperor is trying to obtain a second civil list out of the Empire. At present he has only the civil list as King of Prussia, which nevertheless added to the property of the Crown is pretty considerable. He will get it with difficulty because imperial finances are in a bad way, returns from taxation are diminishing and credit appears exhausted.

*Kleinitz, 10th-14th June, 1908.*

The newspapers are filled with nothing but the meeting at Reval which certainly has great significance.<sup>1</sup> It's got on Germany's nerves and you've no idea of the tone of the German newspapers and the threats which they are uttering. If only the Government and the Press would realise just how much their arrogance, their boastfulness, and their lack of tact have brought about this state of affairs.

My daughter writes me from Vienna. "The Festetics who are back from their English visit where they were guests of the King for the Epsom meeting, have arrived here with the impression of a great Franco-Anglo-Russian Entente which is assuming more and more importance and which is overwhelming the Triple Alliance." The German Fleet rendered honours to the King of England upon his entering and leaving the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal. It was very nice on the part of the Government but I think the English King might have avoided

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Macedonia," pp. 366-71.

### *Reval—Morocco*

this route and made the journey via Denmark, because it must be remembered that he hasn't yet repaid in Berlin the two visits which the Emperor made to London and Windsor.

I am not yet able to determine quite what has been happening at Reval. Some say that Russia is not allowing herself to be drawn by King Edward into hostility against Germany, others that there is complete understanding between the two Sovereigns. Persia and Macedonia were the two points most discussed, but I shall be surprised if Russia and England can really agree upon these.

All letters from France are uneasy over Morocco. Germany would have done better not to meddle with this question, which was really of very little importance to her and nothing compelled her to act as she has. In politics as in everything else you shouldn't do unto others what you wouldn't like others to do to you.

*Kleinitz, 18th June, 1908.*

Betka has arrived here still full of the festivities and processions in Vienna for the sixtieth year of the reign of the Emperor Francis Joseph but little edified by what people are saying about the Emperor William. Prince Kinski who is very talkative wasn't sparing in his remarks on his return from Donaueschingen. The Emperor had the oddest clothes. For capper shooting immense yellow boots of an incredible length, in the evening in the Fürstenburg room a green dress coat with breeches of a kind which would have permitted the wearing of the English Garter, round his neck the Golden Fleece, an immense diamond for a shirt stud and the yellow grand cordon of the Order of The Black Eagle wound twice round his waist instead of a waistcoat, with which His Majesty had dispensed. . . . Kinski was scared by the Emperor's nerves, by his twitching face, his agitated appearance and his

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*An Unfortunate Speech at Döberitz*

ways. He had quite a young aide-de-camp with whom he amused himself by pinching his cheeks, and he hit others with his fists upon the pretext of having a little joke. He gives an impression of wanting to forget something and he is becoming more and more extraordinary.

German opinion has not looked on the Russian visit of King Edward with equanimity, and the Emperor's speech<sup>1</sup> after manœuvres at Döberitz at which the foreign military attachés were present is proof of this. Bülow has sought to give explanations in conversation, but the North German Gazette hasn't contradicted anything and it is an eloquent silence.

Now it is said the Czar will go to Racconigi to pay his visit to your King, King Edward having pressed him vigorously to make him decide to do this. If it comes off Germany's position will become still more precarious.

*Kleinitz, 26th June, 1908.*

The Macedonian article in the papers is not cheerful and I quite understand how unpleasant your position must be *vis-à-vis* those horrible dailies . . .<sup>2</sup> I don't know whether it's really the case, but it seems to me as if the Prince of Bulgaria is pushing there as much as he can. My neighbour Princess Reuss, who can only talk about her cousin of Bulgaria, declares the Turks and the Sultan ought to be destroyed at all costs. The Prince of Bulgaria whom she adores maintains, so the Princess says, that they're all of them only a rabble and have no longer any right to live in Europe. Indeed I'm not at all so certain about what this Prince asserts and I wouldn't be surprised if the Sultan and his subjects were not better than *he*.

My son-in-law Joseph writes from Reval that the impression of the Reval interview was excellent. The Russians

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Macedonia," pp. 366-71.    <sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. 2.

### *Reval and Macedonian Reforms*

feel themselves flattered at being sought after in spite of their awful reverses in the last war and vanity grows quicker than strength. As usual King Edward was filled with tact and skill, he won over everybody and they all heartily wish that he will live long.

*Kleinitz, 29th June, 1908.*

The English newspapers confide in us these days. The *Daily Graphic* talks by the size of its head-lines on the agreement reached at Reval, by which Russia virtually accepts the chief points of Sir Edward Grey's reform plan. It appears England for her part has accepted the Russian plan, according to which the Inspector-General in Macedonia is to enjoy more extensive powers. He must be appointed for seven years and he is to be guaranteed a pension. There is to be no longer a Governor-General but the Inspector-General and the civil agents of the administration are to participate in the deliberations of the Financial Commission. Let us hope the Great Turk will adhere to these plans of the Powers, but I think he will dilly dally as long as he can before submitting. He will try and gain time as he always does.

You're quite right about Germany having nothing which interests her particularly in this Macedonian Question,<sup>1</sup> but they think otherwise here. The Emperor declares himself an intimate friend of the Sultan, and finds it his duty to uphold him. I think he will be embarrassed between his friendship for the Sultan and his position *vis-à-vis* Austria and the other Powers. Besides, the German newspapers unnerved by Reval exhibit a continually increasing excitement. It is possible that this martial language is to ring the change on the Eulenburg affair which is to be settled next week and which is upsetting the Emperor very much.

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Eastern Question," pp. 362-6.

*Kleinitz, 30th June, 1908.*

. . . This evening's paper says that the Russian Government has addressed friendly admonitions to the Bulgarian and Servian Governments asking them to put an end to the violence of Bulgarian and Servian bands in Macedonia.<sup>1</sup>

Helen writes the following news, brought by her husband from Petersburg. "In spite of everything the Duma is acquiring more and more importance and people are beginning to reckon with it. The imperial family are sailing in the Finnish Fiords quite satisfied about Reval. Nevertheless the military party in the Emperor's immediate circle mistrust England and gravitate continually towards Germany."

*Kleinitz, 4th July, 1908.*

It is a veritable Tower of Babel which they have thought fit to establish at Muerzsteg<sup>1</sup> and I cannot imagine that it is a sound method of getting out of the difficulties which have accumulated in the Balkans. It is more than possible intrigues there will abundantly multiply themselves and it isn't at all convenient to find oneself involved again in complications of this kind . . .

The Emperor is still at Kiel where I hope he is finding the requisite distraction from his several cares. The Eulenburg case has been in full swing since Monday last. His Majesty's anxiety must be very great, but everything is being kept so quiet this time that up till now one knows nothing. Eulenburg continues to play the sick man being brought to the court in a chaise-longue and he wears blue spectacles to conceal himself from the glances of the judges. They say the trial will last a fortnight.

It appears the Emperor is making the most desperate efforts

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Macedonia," pp. 366-71.

*"Neue Freie Presse" and British Foreign Policy*

to have an interview with the Czar before Fallières' journey, but the Czar is not particularly anxious for it and I doubt whether he will be successful. What I do know is there is an industrial crisis and the factories of Berlin like those of the small towns in the neighbourhood of Kleinitz are dismissing workmen every day. This isn't altogether a bad thing for us who are landed proprietors because it increases our manual labour but it creates discontent. Not being accustomed to the hard outdoor work which is much less well paid than work in the factories people feel the difference and suffer thereby.

*Kleinitz, 8th July, 1908.*

You will have noticed an article in the *Neue Freie Presse*, entitled "Behind the scenes," on the subject of British policy. According to this article England reserves certain privileges for herself and gives some to Russia by abandoning the Bosphorous and taking Mesopotamia for herself with a view to having an overland route to India. France receives a protectorate over Syria and Italy Tripoli. This will be a new Entente and will replace that of Müritz and Austria will have Salonica. This Proposal would be very tempting for Austria, the newspaper says, whereas Germany would be left quite on one side under this scheme. Besides the Triple Alliance would be in jeopardy because the basis of the alliance between Germany and Italy is precisely the antagonism between the latter and Russia in the Balkans. Betka's second son who returned from London three days ago said the Austrian Ambassador had been very busy there and had been in daily conversation with Grey and King Edward. The latter will go on from Marienbad to Ischl to pay a visit to the Emperor Francis Joseph with the object of seeking a direct understanding with him.

I don't know how much of this article is true, but if King

Edward is under the impression this is the moment to put Germany on one side, dispose of the Ottoman Empire, and change the map of Europe in his favour it seems to me he's taking the wrong route. It is dangerous to enrage the Emperor William as the King of England never misses an opportunity of doing, and I don't believe the Turks will take this lying down, especially if they feel themselves supported by Germany as would be the case. Public opinion in Germany at this moment is preoccupied with the East much more than with Morocco which has never particularly interested the larger public in this country. France has been so hurt I don't believe this Power will ever play the conciliatory rôle which Germany hoped of her in the event of a conflict in the East especially now she sees the danger of it.

The Eulenburg trial is still the predominant pre-occupation of the moment, but everything is so secret one begins to believe that in high places they have very private reasons why the Public shouldn't know what is happening. General von Schaeffer, my neighbour, has told me that Prince Eulenburg had a younger brother who was under his orders and who had the same vices as his elder brother, which was why he was kicked out of the army ten years ago. The General cannot understand why Prince Eulenburg hasn't already committed suicide . . . "It's the only thing to do instead of pretending to be ill, feeding himself on morphia, and trying to make himself interesting. The public aren't deceived and see through this comedian." It appears they have found further counts against Moltke and that the latter hasn't finished with them yet.

*Kleinitz, 12th-16th July, 1908.*

What is happening in Berlin is pitiable. Here is an extract from a letter which might interest you. "Everybody is



### *Eulenburg Scandal—Fritz von Holstein*

asking who is responsible for the indiscretion of the publicity in connection with Prince Dohna's letter. It must have been discovered amongst the papers confiscated at Liebenberg and it is difficult to believe that one of the judges could have taken a copy. Indescribable books were also found there with Count Richard Wedel's name written on them in Prince Eulenburg's hand. Wedel declares he never possessed these books. To the President's question how could Eulenburg explain this fact, the Prince replied as Wedel wasn't married he had written this name in the book because that compromised him less. This incident made a visible impression on the jury. Dohna's letter must however have vexed the Emperor, because since Dohna had had the courage to write to Eulenburg that he considered him a liar he shouldn't have allowed what he thought of the character of this man to pass unnoticed in high quarters. The sea voyage appears very *à propos*."

It appears more and more as though Prince Eulenburg were irredeemable and all these horrors throw a very unfortunate light on the Berlin Court. All that one could do would be to change the personnel and create a new atmosphere. And this ought to be effected as soon as possible. To continue: "Eulenburg maintains that all the dirty rumours which have been spread about him originate from the Catholics in Munich because they can't forgive him for being German and a protestant. . . ."

Michel who has just been appointed to the Wilhelmstrasse is the great admirer and flatterer of Holstein and the articles in the different papers on the subject of Holstein's serious illness are dished up to order. Bülow detests it to be said Holstein is still giving him advice, but it's none the less true that he is consulting him.

It is all very sad from every point of view, and I find the newspapers are not at all reassuring.

*Kleinitz, 20th July, 1908.*

The Eulenburg trial has had to be interrupted on account of the Prince's health. The doctors declared that he would break down if matters were proceeded with. . . . But if the prince were really as bad as is reported he ought to be dead by now. This is all part of the comedy in which Eulenburg must be a past master. I consider it is a good thing the Emperor is away out of the country during such a filthy trial which does no credit to him who chose the Prince for an intimate friend. . . .

*Kleinitz, 28th July, 1908.*

All sorts of great things are happening in the country where you are.<sup>1</sup> What do you think of the announcement of this constitution granted really under pressure of fear? Will it be effective? All these novelties are very astonishing but it is necessary for each country to pass through the stage of a constitution before learning how little is to be got out of it.

The papers say Prince Eulenburg is getting on very well and that he's going for a change of air to his place in the country at Liebenberg. The comedy continues . . .

I am of the opinion they have acted very skilfully at Constantinople and that the European Powers are in a mess, feeling what a check they've received from people more crafty than they. If they're intelligent they'll remain quiet, will wait and bide their time. Now we shall see whether King Edward VII has that governmental prowess which people have always attributed to him up to the present. German diplomacy will also have its difficulties and unfortunately at Berlin they're not very skilful. I had a letter

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Young Turk Revolution," pp. 371-4.

*Baron Marschall von Bieberstein*

yesterday from the Grand Duchess of Baden. She had just had a visit from Baron Marschall at her house at Mainau.<sup>1</sup> This visit took place before the actual outbreak of the latest constitutional crisis, but Marschall said that his great experience made him hope and desire one thing only : complete abstention on the part of the Powers.

*Kleinitz, 4th August, 1908.*

Lanken who came here yesterday from Günthersdorf to pay me a visit said to me, "I didn't wish to believe you two years ago . . . I must say you've been more farsighted than I." The affair of Prince Eulenburg and the state of the finances are the things which most pre-occupy him, and he's not wrong. The former reveals a moral evil which is devouring the Nation and the latter is an awful scourge, especially as the courage is lacking to do what is necessary to stop it. Radical cures won't be brought about by only superficial means.

We are to have King Edward's visit to Wilhelmshöhe in a day or so. He's only going to remain a few hours but this will suffice for a talk if they are anxious for one. I have the feeling that after meeting each other they will go their ways hating one another more than ever.

*Kleinitz, 9th August, 1908.*

I had quite an interesting letter yesterday from my daughter Betka from which I'm going to give you a small extract. She's at Marienbad where she sees quite a number of people who are very well informed of what is going on.

"Countess Festetics has arrived (she was born Hamilton and her mother was a princess of Baden) ; this is very nice for me. She told me that the Grand-Ducal household were

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Eastern Question," pp. 362-6.

not having any more of the Dowager Grand-Duchess' interference in their arrangements. She also says the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch is bringing out a book on Kaspar Hauser ;<sup>1</sup> for years he's been searching for all the Documents concerning this business and he has seen those which she herself possesses, that is to say she's allowed him to make copies.

"The political horizon is not very reassuring. . . . Events in Turkey are very unstable and may well result in a revolution. Countess Festetics had a letter from the Countess of Flanders telling her that King Edward's policy whilst being very clever was also very treacherous and that his hatred for his nephew William was urging him to desire war ; that the Emperor whilst talking of peace broiled with desire to measure his fleet against the English. Furthermore I've heard from an unimpeachable source the Emperor William has worked things so well in Vienna he's ended by getting the Emperor Francis Joseph to lend him five millions instead of the thirty he'd asked for and to give him a long time to pay for Achilléon, for which he hasn't as yet produced a farthing."

Our unsatisfactory financial position is making itself felt even in high quarters, where nevertheless people are still not refraining from journeys with colossal suites, giving orders for statues and every sort of useless object. An increase in the civil list which will be addressed to Parliament is being counted on. I don't anticipate any good will come of this for the monarchy. It will be the moment for the socialists to reproach those who deserve it and for exposing to view things which will not be at all good for the Public to see. I tremble at the thought, but why is the Emperor so blind, so imprudent, so short-sighted when he has so many responsibilities on his shoulders ? . . . I believe the Emperor William

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Kaspar Hauser," pp. 339-40.

### *Ischl—King Edward VII*

would have liked to have met Fallières on his trip in Scandinavia but intrigues of every description thwarted this good intention. People are talking much about the Interview at Krönberg and that at Ischl, but we are not told what happened. The *Tageblatt* maintains that King Edward will pay an official visit to Berlin next winter.

A few days ago I had a visit from Prince Carolath, a member of the Prussian House of Lords and deputy in the German Parliament. I said to him I hoped the government would be content with having the Expropriation Law in hand but that it would hesitate before putting this into operation. He answered me, "Don't you have any illusions about it. The Government won't hesitate, the Law will be carried out and vigorously, but they don't want to do anything and will keep quiet until they've obtained the vote for the new taxes which are so necessary."

*Kleinitz, 21st August, 1908.*

Clemenceau who is at Carlsbad is hobnobbing with the King of England at Marienbad, probably to annoy Germany which has unhappily so much talent for showing her susceptibility to the least thing. I confess I do not admire King Edward's skill to the same extent as most people. By dint of intrigue he will end by putting his finger in his eye and I doubt whether he will be as successful as he imagines. Reval hasn't been lucky for him, he didn't show himself very farsighted there, because he might have surmised that they were on the verge of a great crisis in the country where you are had he been well served by his agents.

*Kleinitz, 25th-29th August, 1908.*

There's Austria recalling her officers who were part of the Ottoman Gendarmerie. The rôle which this Power plays

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*Macedonia—Morocco*

and which is becoming more and more underhand is the outcome of her fears regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina. This unhappy Turkey surrounded only by people who wish to consume her is in a precarious position. Naturally the revolutionary party are benefiting from this and it's sad to see the Great Powers coming to terms with them. It's wrong and does no credit to our old Europe which is decomposing herself as if to her heart's content. It is said also Russia has informed her police officers who are at present on leave that they are not to return to Macedonia.

Ministers of all countries are meeting each other all over the place at the moment and I think they will reach agreement about the situation in the East. This is creating grave responsibility for everybody. And then there's Morocco to complicate everything. And this at a time which is really quite unnecessary.

Have you read the Emperor's ridiculous speech to the Mayor of Metz wherein he said that formerly this town gave him an impression of having too small a waist for its face, and now that the ancient ramparts had fallen down he hoped it would develop a figure more in keeping with that of a stout German woman? Really he might use rather more distinguished phrases for expressing himself. The effect on France will be the most lively hilarity.

*Kleinitz, 2nd September, 1908.*

If the situation in the East is complicated, it is quite certain we in the rest of Europe aren't getting on any better. There are many interviews, endless conversations, numberless sovereigns travelling about, and sick monarchs. And then the Moroccan Question<sup>1</sup> which is more and more exciting the German Press, the tone of which is disagreeably sharp.

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Morocco," pp. 350-7.

## *Morocco*

The King of England is busying himself with politics whilst drinking his waters at Marienbad. He hasn't a single one of his ministers with him and it appears the English are beginning to find fault with their King for exceeding his constitutional rôle. The English recognise the diplomatic talents of their Monarch but they would rather that Edward VII didn't push his political independence too far, as he appears disposed to do.

*Kleinitz, 6th September, 1908.*

The Moroccan business isn't getting on at all. Germany is exhibiting an unexampled stupidity, and you will see she is once more going to find herself abandoned by the other Powers, or to use the language of the *Franckfort Gazette*, she is going to open a breach between them. In wishing to protect a Sultan in Morocco who is preaching a holy war against France Germany is playing a risky game and just at a time when the Emperor's latest speech at Strasburg created the impression that he only desired peace. When he spoke of the "useless mischief-making which sometimes troubles the political horizon" was he wanting to hide his game? It is possible that France will be nettled by this; and if she postpones recognition of Mulai Hafid, France will certainly have with her Spain, Russia, England and possibly even Italy. How will Germany impose her point of view then? Holstein's paw is in all this business. He doesn't want to let this Moroccan Question alone. It was he who invented it.

There is much talk these days of Kuropotkin's Memoirs which have been published in England. It's true people of our world knew enough about the causes which brought about the Manchurian War, Bezobradzow's rôle, the affair of the woods on the Yalu and the concession obtained by a

Russian on behalf of the Government of Corea for the exploitation of these woods. We all knew the Czar had produced some money, but all that remained in the background and the public at large were ignorant. To-day things are no longer going to be the same. There's an article by Mr. Kennan in the latest number of the *Maclure Magazine*. This contains five telegrams from which it emerges that the Czar was in constant touch with the Yalu Company. We live in a strange century, a century in which we observe a sovereign speculating and preferring a war like the one we've seen rather than lose the few millions which this same sovereign had foolishly lent to Bezobradzow for this wood business.

The Strasburg review seems to have been deplorable. The Emperor was very discontented, and the generals extremely gloomy. The newspapers are full of it. I leave to your imagination the joy which the French are feeling. There is also slackness among the troops. Discipline and morale are not what they were formerly.

*Kleinitz, 10th September, 1908.*

Germany who is always wanting to finesse and to show herself the arbiter of Europe only succeeds in bringing everyone about her ears. God knows what she's doing or going to do in the East. As for Morocco, after having startled everybody in a manner which set all the Powers shivering and creating the greatest possible agitation with her famous note of last week, now if you please Germany is vindicating herself for having taken an anti-French initiative. I think we owe this sudden change to conversations which have just taken place between Tittoni, Aerenthal and Schoen<sup>1</sup> . . . But what a policy this is which employs angry phrases, is devoid of all reflection or foresight, which advances then retreats,

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Bosnian Crisis," pp. 374-9.



### *Imperial Finances—An Imperial Ballet*

gets on with nobody and is completely lacking in logic. That will take Germany a long way !

As regards home affairs our finances aren't settling themselves at all.<sup>1</sup> The Empire alone demands another four hundred millions and Prussia is also claiming several millions on her own account. Employees all want an increase in salary. One asks oneself where the money will be found to deal with these matters. If Bülow were equal to the situation (which he isn't) he oughtn't to be able to sleep a single minute, but I feel he is not a man to allow himself to be overburdened by care.

Bismarck's old paper, the *Hamburger Nachrichten* again denounces Holstein, complaining in a very bitter article about the very active rôle which this person continues to play at the Foreign Ministry in Berlin. Frau Schwabach writes as follows : "The Emperor issued the most extensive invitations for the performance of the ballet 'Sardanaple.' Of course all the foreigners were most effusive to him about the show, but my son has written me that the music was childish, the verses ridiculous, and the pantomime too long ; however, the scenery was superb and some of the dances were very successful. It is a pity to see the Emperor taking so seriously to this type of pleasure and lending himself to criticism in such matters."

Kleinitz, 14th September, 1908.

Let us hope the Young Turks will end by gaining the upper hand in spite of their revolution since you believe that failing this the country would find itself in a more precarious state. In any case I presume the present crisis won't be over so soon. In the first place nothing moves quickly in the East. There are always so many complica-

<sup>1</sup> Editor's Introduction, p. 8.

1908]      *The "Eastern Question"—Holstein—Morocco*

tions to disentangle that it's impossible to achieve order there quickly. There will be heaps for years and years, I'm sure of it. I regret not knowing either the country or any of the leading men in Turkey. If it were otherwise I should know better what was happening and my interest would be more awake, because you're quite right in saying that it is out of the Balkans peace or a world war will arise. If we hadn't the Moroccan Question at the moment I believe that the Eastern Question would be more acute than it is.

I don't believe the Emperor has the remotest idea of what is happening in his government departments. On the one hand he proclaims with all his might to all the world he only wishes for peace and that this is as assured as possible, and on the other the government fabricate notes and arrange provocative overtures by their consul at Fez.<sup>1</sup> Then they're embarrassed by it and make stupid explanations which only serve to show Germany doesn't know her own mind.

I wrote you that Bülow does nothing without consulting Holstein, but they say this isn't because he requires his advice but only because Holstein knows too much and the Chancellor fears what he might reveal if he abandoned him altogether. It's possible. But what can the Government have done that it should be necessary to keep certain facts hidden? It all seems very astonishing to me.

This week they're going to call a conference in Berlin to examine the necessary means for remedying the lamentable finances of Prussia and the Empire.<sup>2</sup> But no-one knows what the outcome will be.

*Kleinitz, 18th September, 1908.*

Moroccan affairs are going no better than those of the Young Turks. The sour, aggravating, and captious attitude

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Morocco," pp. 350-7.      <sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. 8.

### *Morocco—Holstein*

of Germany keeps all the world in a state of suspense which is very oppressive. France has had the Franco-Spanish Note remitted to Berlin by Cambon who had to interrupt his leave to perform this office. Bülow has interviews with journalists. He exhibits Germany as white as innocence herself and doesn't understand what the other Powers want of her. Altogether a more flagrant hypocrisy than ever.

Here are a few lines from a letter from Frau Schwabach which will interest you. "My son Paul writes that the programme for the reform of the finances which the government have published is very reasonable but one must await results before being too pleased about it. Holstein's friend (Frau Lebbin), has been indiscreet in spreading reports of interviews and correspondence between the Chancellor and Holstein and all the papers have discussed this subject. Bülow may have said that Holstein's opinion had great value. I got this impression after what Renvers told me. He is Bülow's doctor and a friend."

It would be annoying and even appalling if Holstein were to come into favour in high quarters again.

*Kleinitz, 22nd-23rd September, 1908.*

I can't begin to understand what the German Government want about the Moroccan business. They've even gone so far as to *invent* a scene between the French Minister and the German Chargé d'Affaires at Tangier. The moment Germany's satisfied over one thing she invents another. It's quite plain that she wants something that she doesn't say and at which one can't even begin to guess.

Now here's another bone of contention between the French and the Germans over those deserters who sought the protection of the German Vice-Consul. Really I've never seen such a thing. But I'm less surprised than many others

1908]      *Pan-Germanists—Bulgaria—Bosnian Crisis*

because I've been noticing with alarm for years how the Germans imagine that they can do as they please. "Deutschland über Alles" is the slogan here and this seems to justify everything. Every day the Pan-German Press assumes a more threatening trend. I don't know where we're going at all. The German reply to the Franco-Spanish Note seems fairly conciliatory, although it leaves the door open to many reservations and difficulties will spring up from all sides. . . .

*Kleinitz, 5th-8th October, 1908.*

The banker Paul Schwabach is in Constantinople and he writes to his mother that the people there create the impression of young adolescents to whom their parents have given a latch-key for the first time. They don't quite know how to make use of it. This is also the impression I get from a distance.

The Bulgarian bombshell<sup>1</sup> which one foresaw has burst accompanied by that of Austria-Hungary.<sup>2</sup> The latter has thrown off her mask in a manner which makes this Eastern Question still more threatening than it's been. Already for a long time I've been prepared for Bulgaria's ambitious intrigues to tear up the treaty of Berlin, but I must confess that I didn't believe Austria had the same ideas and that she would give this bad example to Europe. I presume this decision was taken in common at Pesth during the visit paid by the Prince and Princess of Bulgaria to Francis Joseph. Carelessness is at present reigning so supreme in the offices of the Foreign Ministry at Berlin it appears they were taken by surprise. The Emperor is shooting in Prussia, Bülow is at Nordenay, and Schoen at Berchtesgarden in Bavaria. Not a single statesman is at his post, they're all amusing them-

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Young Turk Revolution," pp. 371-4.

<sup>2</sup> See Note on "The Bosnian Crisis," pp. 374-9.

### *The Bosnian Crisis*

selves and no-one can agree to combine in the smallest collective action to take some measure the urgency of which appears to me obvious in view of the circumstances. I declare I would proclaim before all else respect for international engagements and Europe should not tolerate their being torn up lightheartedly for a whim. The *New York Herald* reports that Marschall has had to endure a scene at Constantinople where it was believed Germany was egging Austria on to a definitive seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereas it is asserted that neither the Emperor nor Bülow nor Schoen suspected anything.

This is all so serious that Morocco is practically wiped out. For two days it hasn't been mentioned, so to speak. If Germany would profit from the Eastern conflict to withdraw from the Moroccan game what a mercy this would be for Germany and the rest of us.

Each day certainly brings a further complication in this Turkish business, and since in politics as in other things I don't wish for others what I shouldn't care for myself, I am exasperated at seeing such a mountain of covetousness *vis-à-vis* this wretched Turkey. I have the feeling we're assisting at the counterpart of the dismemberment of Poland of a hundred and fifty years ago ; this would be fatal to the equilibrium of Europe.

In my opinion we can hope for nothing from Germany who is behaving in a very shabby way with the Turk from whom she has obtained so many valuable concessions, nor from the " Brilliant Second " of Algeciras. The same feeling exists at Constantinople where there have been disagreeable demonstrations in front of the German Embassy.

My daughter Betka, who has just been spending a couple of days in Vienna, on her return writes me as follows : "What d'you think of all these political events which are hurling

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*Aerenthal—Iswolski*

themselves at our heads and which daily bring new surprises ? At Vienna the diplomats have been overwhelmed deciphering dispatches. All the Aerenthal party are delighted but there are others who are very worried and who are asking themselves if it all won't end badly for Austria. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina should certainly have taken place at the time of the Congress of Berlin but Andrassy didn't think of it then. I have spoken to several of our diplomatists who say that Aerenthal couldn't have carried out this coup without knowing what he was doing and without having obtained precise views of the other Powers. Lately there have been nothing but interviews with European Statesmen and Chancellors, and now these say they knew perfectly well it was Austria's wish but they did not expect that it would be expressed so soon. . . . Serbia and Turkey are already mobilising and trembling with indignation. If all this business ends in a Congress we can be very happy. But how and in what sort of condition would Austria emerge ?”

There is much talk about Tittoni's and Iswolski's resignations. They say the latter was aware of Aerenthal's plans but kept quiet about them so as to be able to raise a new Russian loan on the London Market if he could before the news was sprung on the world. What a muddle and what bad faith.

*Kleinitz, 16th October, 1908.*

Everyone is so afraid of war that all possible means will be tried to avoid it. The state of Europe won't be any the better for it because once treaties are torn up in such a flagrant manner as the one we've just seen the lack of balance will be such that we shan't be able to stand up any more.

It seems to me impossible for Turkey to ratify the royal

### *Tension and Uncertainty*

crown which Ferdinand has just placed on his head or to agree purely and simply to this annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is maintained that this annexation was desired and almost imposed by the Archduke Franz-Ferdinand on the old Francis Joseph. Whatever it is it's an arrogant and a rash act on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government and they have attempted it at their risk and peril. I would they paid dearly for it and that the Powers had the courage to show their disapproval by not recognising their follies as accomplished facts.

It is quite possible the Young Turks were sufficiently naïve to believe they would be left to carry out their reforms in peace. And this indeed would have been the case if they had had to deal with trustworthy people. But trustworthiness is not to be found in Prince Ferdinand or in the Austrian Government. At Berlin they are in a state of indecision which indicates considerable embarrassment.

*Kleinitz, 24th October, 1908.*

I am very worried by all that's happening. Everything seems to me uncertain, obscure, and upset. The Anglo-Franco-Russian programme if not stillborn is at least endangered. This makes for a new threat of conflict in the East. And with complete ignorance of Germany's real intentions there is something to be worried and discouraged about. No-one knows where Europe's going or even where she's got !

We're assisting at the struggle between Germany and England and it is Turkey who will be the victim.

You will have read this interview of the Emperor William's which all the newspapers are full of these last two days.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The *Daily Telegraph* 'Interview'," pp. 340-1.

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*The "Daily Telegraph" "Interview"*

One must admit this was no palliative and that the imprudence of his words is beyond all possible limits. The whole Berlin Press judges the Sovereign harshly, confidence is utterly shaken, and I fear it will all end very badly for the person of the Monarch. He is continually compromising himself and compromising the country too. All this isn't normal. There is certainly illness at the bottom of this inconsequence. Bülow's position must be terrible.

Austrians I see are very proud of Aerenthal's great stroke, all the more so in that owing to this man's influence they're getting talked about, having at last emerged from the quiet and uneventfulness in which they had to live. The Poles see further and say the Austrian Government hasn't kept its word and that serious consequences may follow. I've got a letter from my cousin Hatzfeldt from Bessarabia where his wife has large estates. He says Russia is moving troops in the interior on a large scale. The day he wrote thirteen generals with several officers and war materials had just arrived at their place. Preparations for a struggle are being made on all sides and no-one knows to what extent it will break out.

*Balice, 5th November, 1908.*

The greatest efforts are being made to cover up the Emperor over his incredible interview. Bülow has composed a whole story, taking on his own shoulders the blame for having neglected to read the report himself which the Emperor had sent him. And he has announced that he submitted his resignation which was not accepted. No-one believes this tale and the public are very upset, while they feel themselves in the hands of a sovereign in whom no-one has the slightest confidence any more. In spite of Bülow's explanations the Emperor's words can neither be denied nor contradicted. They remain.



### *Repercussions in Germany*

He has publicly compromised both France and Russia who won't forgive him, and England whom he wanted to win over will only be more inimical. Uncle Edward's reply was to order six new Dreadnoughts.

*Berlin, 15th November, 1908.*

What do you think of all that's happening in Berlin and of the two days' parliamentary session in the Reichstag? These were inauspicious days for the Monarchy. Count Stolberg didn't once stop the speakers as he alone could as President. They were two days of accusations against the person of the Emperor and no-one could find one single word in mitigation. The Conservative Party were even more violent than the Socialists. Bülow was spared because it's known that everything is done behind his back. For the first time he appeared serious, downcast, and very upset. His speech was short, he palliated what he could. His words lacked his usual sprightliness and he excited pity in more than one. As for the Emperor no-one pitied him and I've been told that the schemes mooted in the lobbies were worthy of the best days of the Convention in France.

The Emperor is still at Donaueschingen with Prince Fürstenburg where he is shooting, amusing himself, ballooning, hanging the cordon of the Black Eagle on Zeppelin's fur coat, kissing him and declaring him to be the greatest man of the twentieth century—which has scarcely begun—briefly only seeking every kind of distraction. The effect of this is deplorable on every rung of the social ladder. Opponents laugh, the Conservatives weep. It is a muddle. People are amused on the quiet at this ever closer friendship with Prince Fürstenburg, and surreptitiously they are believing things which do no credit to Imperial habits.

Personally I think, being a direct descendant of George III

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*Herr Kiderlen—Waechter*

of England his brain is giving way like that of his ancestor and several sons of this same King, amongst others William IV whom Queen Victoria succeeded. This strikes me forcibly at the moment. This evening Bülow sent the Emperor a very long telegram to which the Sovereign didn't even deign to reply. Several people who came to my house appeared to think that the Chancellor was on the verge of departure. I've never admired Bülow's policy, but then who would assume such a heavy burden with a Sovereign like ours?

It appears Kiderlen,<sup>1</sup> our new Minister for Foreign Affairs, was deplorable on the tribune. Intimate friend of the Emperor and of Holstein that he is, it is doubtful whether he will be able in spite of everything to keep his post. The Empress is at Ploen with her youngest son who is at school. The poor woman appears to have fled. She has sufficient common sense to realise that all these happenings are pretty bad.

I often think looking on at our monarchies behaving as they are at the present time the Republican Government of France would be superior.

Consider the firm dignity with which the French Government has just acted in this business of Casablanca<sup>2</sup> and what frankness it puts into its diplomacy. The difference has often struck me in reading French papers these days.

*Berlin, 17th November, 1908.*

It is not altogether clear what is happening in the East.<sup>3</sup> Negotiations between Austria and Russia over the Conference, about which I'm very doubtful, are being carried on with the greatest secrecy. If Russia proceeds to formulate

<sup>1</sup> See Editor's Introduction, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Note on "Morocco," pp. 350-7.

<sup>3</sup> See Note on "The Bosnian Crisis," pp. 374-9.

*Anglo-French Relations—Mr. Goschen*

openly her ideas on the subject of the Dardanelles England will always say "No."

At the Lord Mayor's banquet in London Asquith spoke of France the Ally, a phrase which has not been used up to the present, but I think it was uttered to show the German Emperor that his revelations had not had the least effect on Anglo-French relations. The Emperor is due to return to Potsdam this morning and it is to-day the interview with Bülow takes place. This interview can't help being painful but there are those who think the Chancellor will survive. It's probable the Emperor will promise to be good in future. Then some new folly will soon come along. It's down in the book of fate. But public opinion here is becoming more and more disconcerted. It is so now over those two days' discussion in Parliament which are considered a waste of time because they didn't result in any solution. Bülow is reproached for not having replied on the second day, and by Parliament for not having voted an address to the Emperor asking him to put an end to his personal government, and expressing the anxiety felt over his meddling in foreign policy, and for not informing him of the changes in the Constitution desired by the Nation. It's all very unfortunate but the Emperor's exhausted everyone's patience. We must expect heavy storms which might end in revolution if the Germans persist in following the path on which the follies of the present Emperor have made them slide. In the present century this type of slippery slope is as serious as it's dangerous.

I've made the acquaintance of the new British Ambassador here, Mr. Goschen, who seemed charming.

*Berlin, 21st November, 1908.*

There is a moment of calm in the East, but this calm gives me the impression of being of the kind which always precedes

a storm. This storm may take some time before bursting because I don't believe Russia is ready, but it will certainly come one day.

Here we've the appearance of being out of the mess since Bülow is remaining, but we're still in a bog because it's all only a patching up which won't last any time. We are certainly marching to war and revolution. The German is slow in grasping things but when he's got there he soon becomes brutal and he exerts all his powers obstinately. Herein lies his strength. It appears the Emperor did listen to Bülow the other day . . . but I don't think he takes to heart all that's happened. He laughs at the deputies and at all that happens in Parliament, doesn't attach the least importance to it, considers people are unfair to him and treats everything with as much unconcern as thoughtlessness . . . They say that all these things brought about General Hülsen's death. He was Chief of the Military Cabinet and was shooting with the Emperor when Bülow's dispatches were brought informing the latter of events in Parliament. The Emperor was extremely angry and apostrophised Hülsen who had the courage to reply that discontent was raging throughout the country, it was noticeable even in the army, and that it all seemed very disturbing to him. This produced such a recrudescence of fury in the Emperor Hülsen was quite overcome and as he'd been suffering from a bad heart for several years he had such a heart attack that evening the poor man fell down dead<sup>1</sup> . . .

Yesterday Bülow made a further speech on the subject of taxes and he juggled with the figures so successfully it was difficult to follow him. I don't know whether the deputies

<sup>1</sup> Prince Bülow in his memoirs says that evening General Hülsen was performing a *pas seul* dressed up as a girl ballet dancer when he fell down dead.—EDITOR.

*Iswolski—Lady de Grey*

will vote the new taxes before obtaining the constitutional guarantees which they require as a protection from their Sovereign's vagaries . . .

*Berlin, 25th November, 1908.*

I've seen some Russians who all say Iswolski isn't in favour and that the Czar would change him immediately if there were another man to put in his place, but in Russia it's like here, there's no-one really capable. They weren't pleased about his European journey. He must have made promises in Vienna which they couldn't keep in St. Petersburg. On the banks of the Neva they would like to get near Constantinople and then England answers, "In that event I'm in the Dardanelles." . . . What is making Russia so inactive is the fact that she hasn't recovered yet from her losses in the Japanese war and that she's incapable of making war in Europe now, being obliged to keep an eye on events in China and the Far East. There is also a little detail which explains the long journeys Iswolski undertook this summer. The Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs is at the feet of Lady de Grey. He's quite captivated by her charm. She went last winter to St. Petersburg where she spent four weeks on Iswolski's account.

The newspapers here contain articles so ignominious they would certainly not be allowed to be published even in republican Paris. Here they're allowed to pass and nothing's said. The Sovereigns don't budge from Potsdam, no-one knows anything about them and no-one tries to discover the Emperor's frame of mind. It's as though he didn't exist. Kiderlen returns from Buda Pesth and Schoen will be back at his post on December 1st. Bülow only shows himself in Parliament where he makes speeches in favour of the taxes which he won't obtain without a thorough reform of the financial system of the Empire.

1908] "Only a Cold"—Days Reminiscent of Louis XVI

*Berlin, 29th November, 1908.*

It is said nevertheless that the Emperor took very badly all Bülow was obliged to tell him on his return to Potsdam after the follies of Donaueschingen. (They're scarcely on speaking terms.) The Emperor is unwell. He hasn't left his bed for a week. Only a cold is mentioned. They don't want to say he's ill with vexation, which makes him fret. I pity him all the more because at the age of fifty which he attains next January it is difficult to change one's character and habits. I'm very much afraid his moods will begin again, because he's not the person to keep quiet.

I've had a visit from my Kleinitz neighbour, the deputy, Prince Carolath. He told me the papers did not reproduce for obvious reasons everything that was said in Parliament on the imperial interview during the two days' discussion, but that there had been words even more forcible than those heard in Paris during the trial of Louis XVI . . . I also had a visit from Knesebeck. He says the Empress is terribly sad and anxious, and he recounted that the interview published by the English paper came about in this way. Last year, after the Windsor visit, the Emperor wanted to spend a few more weeks in England, supposedly for a rest.<sup>1</sup> An Englishman (a frightful snob) placed his house at His Majesty's disposal rent-free. The Emperor enchanted at having to pay nothing accepted this proposal with joy, and the Englishman having handed over his house to the Emperor retired to a lodge in the garden. Naturally it was incumbent to return his host's generosity. The latter was perpetually invited to lunch, to dinner, and given a lift in the Imperial motor-car every time the Emperor went for an outing. The Emperor who enjoys talking never thought for an instant the English-

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Daily Telegraph 'Interview'", pp. 340-I.

## *Corfu*

man could betray him, hence he discussed everything which entered his head nor did he hesitate to pour out all his political ideas. Every time he got back the Englishman committed to paper everything he'd just heard. Later he gave all these notes to an editor of his acquaintance who composed the interview which we've all read and which cannot be contradicted.

Knesebeck, who was travelling in Corfu last spring, told me nothing could be more beautiful than Achilléon, but that he had been able to get no pleasure out of it because all the time he was in Corfu he had the feeling of forbidden fruit, namely the colossal expenditure in a foreign country with which one day his German subjects would bitterly reproach their master, and a sense of constant anxiety at seeing the Emperor meeting so many strangers on his excursions and talking at random to people whom he didn't know and when he scarcely even knew who they were.

To give an idea of the expense, Knesebeck said there were always more than fifty people at the imperial table. Five new motor-cars were bought for Achilléon and their mere transport cost seventy-five thousand marks. The Emperor was on the go so much that what he least observed was the incomparable view from his own terrace.

His Majesty is utterly lacking in moderation. He has just cancelled at a go all his shoots and he has ordered the Crown Prince to do likewise. This seems to me very stupid because even if one would like him to be rather more temperate in his movements there's no harm in his going off shooting from time to time. It seems that what has had the greatest effect on him is the report of the Federal Council which appeared after the two days in Parliament. The Federal Princes all made serious remonstrances to their Suzerain through the mouth of their mandatory. The

unanimity of their displeasures was so noticeable the impression must have been very painful. All this was to be foreseen.

It is many years now that I have been watching the change which has been taking place in a nature so essentially rich and which contained so much material for doing good. My prognostications have been realised only too soon, God knows what still awaits us. We're not at the end. Forced into isolation here we shall be obliged to follow Austria's lead in the Balkans and this is not the best way.<sup>1</sup> All Germans find this very hard and so it is.

I've seen the British Ambassador. He sees everything very black, appears very anxious, blames Aehrenthal heartily and expresses himself in a very characteristic manner on the light-heartedness with which the Austrian statesman has flung himself into this business which may lead to war. Russia is becoming very stiff with Austria and they tell me Austrian policy is making so many mistakes that it is becoming impossible to support this Power as effectively as has been the practice hitherto. At Petersburg the position of Austrian Diplomats is impossible and they are not seen anywhere.

Here they began yesterday in Parliament the discussion on ministerial and constitutional responsibility. It will last several days and no-one knows the outcome. Bülow wasn't present and has commissioned the Minister Bethmann Hollweg to answer on his behalf.

I have had a visit from the Austrian Ambassador. On December 2nd he was summoned to Potsdam by the Emperor William who wished to congratulate him in person upon the occasion of the sixtieth year of the reign of the Emperor Francis Joseph. He told me he found His Majesty looking gloomy and that he seemed enveloped in sorrow and bitterness. He doesn't forgive Bülow for having defended him so

<sup>1</sup> See "Final Note," pp. 390-1.



### *A Temporary Détente*

inadequately in Parliament after all the marks of affection and benefits which he had heaped upon him. Nor has Bülow seen the Emperor since November the 17th, and if His Majesty has anything special which he wishes to let him know it is General von Lynker, Chief of the Military Cabinet, who is charged with the mission. It seems unlikely to me that things can go on like this much longer. The moment the Emperor has found a man capable of occupying the post of Chancellor it is probable Bülow will be given his *congé*. In any case we are living here in a state of latent revolution. This is painful and distressing for the future and there is no doubt this country has been badly unsettled in its monarchical principles and feelings.

*Berlin, 11th-15th December, 1908.*

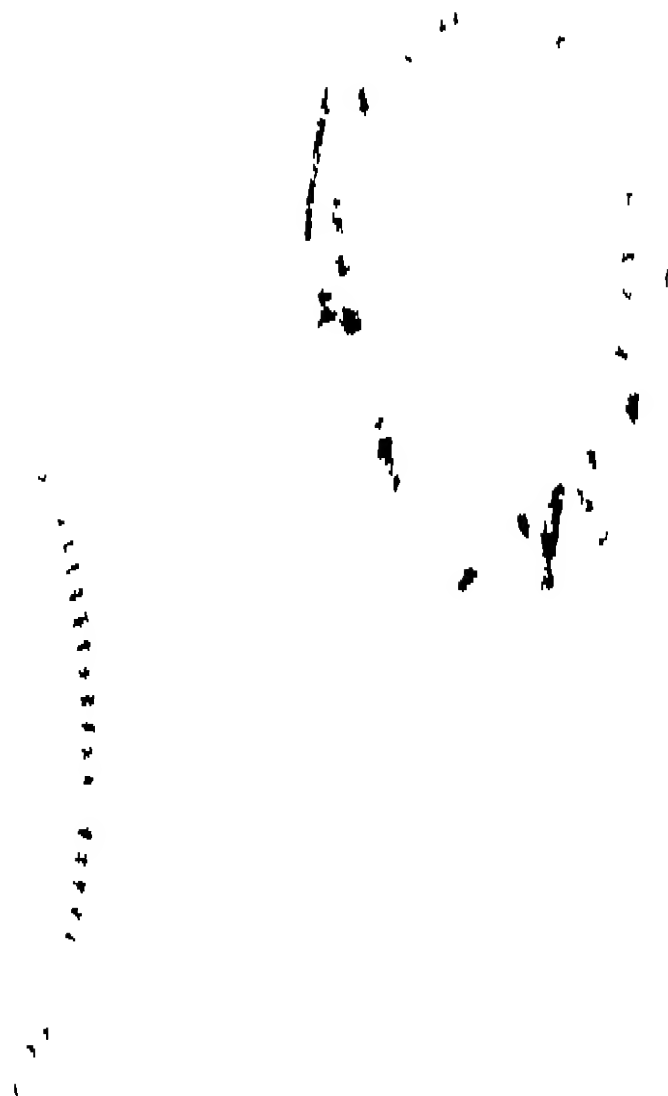
. . . They say there is a lessening of tension these days in the East and that Austria is obliged to stop being so brusque with Turkey. If she retreats her internal position will become worse. Really Aerenthal might boast of having placed his country in an impasse from which it is impossible to foresee how he'll withdraw. I can't believe war can break out soon, but I see it in perspective later.

I've seen the Radolins. They lunched yesterday at the Neues Palais quite intimately. They found the Emperor looking depressed and were struck by his despondency. The Empress on the contrary spoke quite brightly and the Radolins like all who come near Their Majesties had the impression that it's now the Empress's influence which dominates. Bülow is very down in the dumps, his last speech in defence of Holstein has created a bad effect in all circles. It is contended that it was Holstein himself who insisted on it. It's more than likely.

You will have seen from the papers Monts has left Rome



*Princess Marie Radziwill*



1908]

*The Archduke Franz-Ferdinand*

where he will be little regretted and that Jagow is to replace him. He is perhaps intelligent and has sound knowledge of your terrain, but he's one of Holstein's most ardent adherents and the latter considers him one of his closest collaborators. This is a very bad mark in my eyes.

*Berlin, 19th-22nd December, 1908.*

There is certainly great public feeling against Bülow but I don't believe the stroke of the bell announcing his end is very close. Bülow clings to power as much as ever and there's no-one to replace him, because the Emperor won't hear of Baron Marschall who is at Constantinople. Their two characters don't hit it off.

They say Aerenthal and Iswolski are also put out with each other. At Vienna the Emperor has pulled himself together and without any fuss has let it be known that he won't under any pretext close his reign by a war and he won't give in to either the Heir-Apparent or to Aerenthal, and not at any price will he continue the policy begun in the affair of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The old Sovereign has preferred to draw back rather than pursue the path on which they wanted him to embark. It is prudence which has dominated his thoughts and his responsibilities. The Heir-to-the-Throne is exceedingly displeased with his uncle and has spoken very openly and said he would rather for the good of Austria his uncle abdicated. That's all very well and doesn't prove any too clearly that the nephew one day will be up to the mission which awaits him in the not far distant future. This Archduke inspires in me no confidence for the future of Austria.

Here the Emperor is beginning to show himself at Potsdam. He appeared in a good humour at a dinner of the Hussars and the Guards. His colour must be greyer and more sickly

than before the crisis. He only sees Bülow once a fortnight. He no longer calls him "My dear Prince," but "Your Highness," and keeps him scarcely twenty minutes while dealing with urgent matters.

1909

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*Berlin, 4th January, 1909.*

ON New Year's Day I was received with the princesses in audience by the Empress. We were represented only by Princess Bülow and myself. This indicates the lack of eagerness amongst the upper classes to draw near to the throne which I felt was rather sad. The Empress was very friendly to Princess Bülow and in saying good-bye to me she added: "The Emperor is getting on now but he has had a very trying time, these days are far too distressing for him. We are remaining at Potsdam so that he can have more fresh air." The Ambassadors told me at their audience the Emperor didn't look out of sorts and that he chatted, but only about things of no particular interest. They say in recent years Bülow has always tried to keep them away from the Sovereign, and in order to hinder conversations between them which might be of use he has fobbed the Emperor off with journalists and other indiscreet people. I believe Bülow capable of every unsound idea and every bad influence. He's the fatal man of the country and his secret friendship with that evil genius Holstein is hastening the ruin of Germany. God knows where Bülow is leading us.

*Berlin, 8th January, 1909.*

The Emperor instead of returning to town has gone off to Hübertustock with his gentlemen to breathe the air of the

### *Another Unfortunate Imperial Speech*

woods whilst the Empress is remaining at the Neues Palais. It's all becoming rather bizarre. Yesterday while out walking in the streets I suddenly ran across Bülow and his wife. They were doing the same thing, their garden being too wet for their usual outing there. I chatted with them for a few minutes and I was struck by the Chancellor's seedy appearance. He's very thin, his colouring sallow, his speech jerky, his thoughts absentminded, briefly his physical appearance has changed very noticeably. He looks displeased with himself, with others, and with events. His usual joviality seemed quite to have disappeared. Austria's policy which is becoming very complicated these days may well have been the reason.

I was at the reception of the Mistress of the Robes. Emptiness predominated. God knows what the Court balls will be like this winter with so little enthusiasm. People are talking a lot about Count Schlieffen's utterances which the Emperor insisted on being read to his generals on New Year's Day and about his own speech which he addressed to them. But nothing's official. . . . It was only through the *Tageblatt* that we heard about it. As the article wasn't contradicted it must be presumed this newspaper spoke the truth.

The *Figaro* and the *Temps* mentioned it and have reproduced the article. I think Parliament will sit again on the 17th and that the taxes will give the Government a lot of trouble. The taxpayer is much concerned. It appears we shall each of us have to contribute twenty-five per cent more of our incomes. This will create general dissatisfaction. The people I saw last evening were all horrified by the Emperor's speech and the unfortunate ideas which he developed on the subject of Germany's position *vis-à-vis* the European Great Powers. This piece of tactlessness is nothing less than deplorable. The desire to talk obscures his mind, hinders him from seeing

1909]

*Austrian Anti-English Press*

things clearly and will certainly bring him to a bad end some day or other. Hearing about this speech I said to myself this was perhaps another reason why Bülow was so pensive when I met him in the street.

*Berlin, 12th January, 1909.*

Things are going pretty badly between England and Austria. The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna has a very violent article against Great Britain, to which *The Times* has replied by a still more violent article. I saw the British Ambassador yesterday. He was very dismayed by the bitterness of these polemics which he said might lead to disagreeable consequences. Aerenthal is an ass and is leading his country to a crisis which will be all the more serious as he's in agreement with the Heir Apparent. According to what I hear all sensible Austrians are of this opinion and see a very black future if Aerenthal remains and the Archduke were to come to the Throne, which might happen at any moment because the Emperor Francis Joseph is very old.

The Emperor's conversation with his generals was not intended for publication. It was due to an indiscretion on the part of one of them that the *Tageblatt* got an inkling of what took place. In recent years so much discontent has been created in the army and even amongst the generals by the lack of consideration shown them that one mustn't be surprised if things are happening now which formerly would have been impossible. It is very sad to have to state this. At the same time it seems to me as regards the Emperor people are going a bit too far. They won't leave him alone at all. They criticise not only his words but the slightest gesture in a way that is altogether too much of a good thing. They'll end by irritating him to such an extent they'll drive him out of his mind. It's the more serious as I believe the Emperor



*Austro-Turkish Détente—Bülow's Influence*

isn't at all normal at present. I saw a new photograph of him the other day and he looked most extraordinary.

I've had a visit from the Schoens. He appeared pleased about a dispatch which had just arrived saying Austria and Turkey were arranging things for the better. Let us hope so.

*Berlin, 24th January, 1909.*

Our poor Emperor hasn't a chance. Exceptional circumstances will be necessary to extricate him from the difficulties into which Bülow has got him so lightheartedly. Alas ! the Emperor didn't realise in the least where things were leading. He maintains his chilliness towards Bülow. The latter has just placed himself between two stools, a position which will not get him out of the scrape into which he has thrust himself. You will have read his speech in which, wanting to go back on his November speech, he tried to resuscitate the Emperor's person. It was too late. . . .

Someone I saw yesterday and who is an intimate of the Sovereign told me that the Emperor had said to him, "But I've done nothing without consulting Bülow. All this landing at Tangier,<sup>1</sup> for which I was not at all anxious, was pushed on me despite my resistance. . . . For twelve years since he has been at the head of the Government I've done nothing without consulting and coming to an understanding with him. It is very discouraging to see oneself treated in this way."

It seems to me from what I see the Emperor has got to the stage of completely lacking courage and energy, he's become hesitant, devoid of will power, timid, and he's lost all faith in himself and his star. There is no question in the minds of those who know him that he had the best intentions, but he has been ill served. Bülow was incapable of giving him a single piece of good advice. In the background there's

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Morocco," pp. 350-7.

1909]

*Bulgarian Social Aspirations*

that frightful caterpillar Holstein sowing evil in all departments and nibbling all the threads which uphold the throne, at the risk of bringing about an irretrievable disaster.

*Berlin, 28th January, 1909.*

Yesterday's news from Bulgaria was very warlike. But I confess I find it difficult to take the Bulgarians seriously nor can I believe their ruler would risk a prank which might lose him his army. They say Prince Ferdinand can't even ride a horse. He spent all his youth collecting insects, but we can be sure that subsequently his ambitions have become rather more elevated. In this connection there was a scene which was very comical as follows. In Berlin they've just organised an international exhibition of feminine Art. A general appeal was sent out to all countries, including Bulgaria. The Prince's wife sent embroideries which she had done herself, to which they had attached a ticket saying, "Work by the Princess of Bulgaria." The Bulgarian Envoy, a certain Monsieur Nykyforo whom I've never seen, turned up to protest making an abominable noise and saying they should have written, "by the Queen of Bulgaria." The other side maintained they couldn't alter anything in view of the fact that the Powers had not yet recognised this new title.<sup>1</sup> There was much weeping and gnashing of teeth and even rude words were exchanged, but the title of "Princess" remained in spite of Nykyforo's threats. What folly it all is!

In Austria they're very annoyed with Aerenthal's policy.<sup>2</sup> It appears that in St. Petersburg the Czar has been rather high and mighty with the Austrian Ambassador<sup>3</sup> who was pressing for an audience. The former let it be known if he wished to talk about his family, his children—common bonds—he

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Bosnian Crisis," pp. 374-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Graf Berchtold.

*Riots—The Emperor's Nerves—Gala Performance*

would receive him, but if he wanted to talk politics the interview could not take place.

For three days we've been having mobs in the streets. Not a good augury. The crowd cries "Down with Bülow!" And there was an attempt to reach the Schloss to demand electoral reform,<sup>1</sup> but two thousand mounted police prevented them from crossing the bridge which separates the Palace from the rest of the town. All this hardly creates a bed of roses for the Emperor and his position is not one to be envied. At the same time I wish he had more civic courage. He only goes out in his motor-car which careers at full speed and he crouches in the back so as not to be seen. He shows himself to no-one and he has forbidden the Court Circular to appear in the papers, so the public don't hear their Sovereign mentioned any longer which is not at all a good thing. Soon they'll have forgotten here they ever possessed one. He ought, on the contrary, to let himself be seen and show that when one has blue blood in one's veins one isn't afraid of danger.

*Berlin, 31st January, 1909.*

The evening of the 27th I was at the Opera where they gave two acts from Glück's "Orpheus," very badly sung but with marvellous scenery. I must confess I found myself very much at sea in my mythology which I had largely forgotten, but as I didn't go there for the opera but to congratulate the Emperor I did my bit quite easily. The house was very brilliant and the royal box quite full of Federal Princes who had come to an understanding with each other to rally round the Emperor at a moment when he was being so attacked on all sides, and I think this eagerness on their part must have given the Emperor pleasure, because he was looking

<sup>1</sup> See Editor's Introduction, p. 8.

1909]

*The Chancellor's Depression*

well, spoke calmly and appeared almost cheerful. The Empress was also in good spirits. She supports Bülow more and more and exerts an influence upon her august spouse. Yesterday she appointed five new ladies-in-waiting about which there was much talk. There was more than one lady who was envious. Bülow didn't appear. Only his wife turned up at the performance and she appeared to me more than ever in a fog.

Helen writes to me from St. Petersburg that nothing much is happening there. Only the Dowager Empress gives audiences and receives. The reigning Empress doesn't receive a soul and sees only foreigners. She did, however, see Sarah Bernhardt and worthy tongues are not hesitating to relate the most extravagant gossip about their Sovereign, of whom one hears things which are really unheard of. Iswolski is preoccupied ; Helen adds . . . Austria is in disgrace there and Iswolski sees red when Aerenthal's name is mentioned. People never like being fooled.

Here as regards politics everything seems obscure. The Emperor keeps quiet but he has been very hard on Count Stolberg, President of the Reichstag, to whom he neither spoke nor gave his hand at the party of the 27th. He doesn't pass Bülow by in silence but only says to him what is absolutely necessary for business and avoids the slightest familiarity. The Chancellor is very sombre, looks very ill, hardly talks, and without the Empress's influence which supports him all the time, he would have gone from his post long ago. In spite of her efforts I think that political developments will soon bring about his fall. If not now then later on in the summer. But who can be his successor ? . . .

*Berlin, 9th February, 1909.*

To-day we are awaiting the King of England. It's not raining but the sun is hidden behind grey clouds. They've

### *Edward VII in Berlin—The Decorations*

built a whole crowd of stands which make the Pariserplatz look horribly narrow, and they've decorated all the Unter den Linden with frightful little flags and horrible paper garlands. This is showing Berlin under a hideous guise. I imagine that the whole visit will be a comedy played by excellent actors desperately jealous of one another and more mistrustful than ever. It's the most artful who'll get away with it, and I fear this won't be ours. I am very displeased at German newspaper articles these days. They wish to prepare public opinion to receive the King well but as usual they do it with unheard-of lack of tact, displaying the grandeurs of Germany to which no other country can even aspire !

The King has just passed by beneath my windows. He seemed to me much fatter. He bowed very graciously, and the crowd were very silent. I got an impression of ice. The King was in an open carriage drawn by six horses. The Queen covered by a cloak of ermine was in a great closed glass coach with the Empress, so that the public were scarcely able to see her. To-day everything takes place at the Schloss. A family lunch and this evening a great banquet. I think that won't amuse anybody.

*13th February, 1909.*

The King of England left yesterday at five o'clock and everyone felt relieved. You can't imagine how ill he looked. He has become so fat that he's coughing all the time and he suffers a great deal from asthma, his features are drawn and he hasn't a hair on his head. In spite of all this he gave me the impression, as did the Queen, of having done everything they could to be pleasant and to show as much friendly feeling as possible, although their welcome by the people of Berlin was so icy. The day they arrived the horses in the Queen's carriage very nearly brought about a catastrophe.

1909] *Contretemps—Luncheon at the British Embassy*

They took fright first of all at the Brandenburg Gate, then again at Frederic the Great's statue, where ordinary lookers-on in the crowd had to run out and seize the horses' bridles, and finally on the bridge near the Palace where they came completely to grief. The Queen had to get out and also the Empress, so these two ladies were obliged to enter the Palace on foot, where owing to lack of foresight they had given the King an apartment without a lift, which was appalling for him as he can't climb stairs any longer.

During all this a veritable riot which originated near the Kaiserhof suddenly burst out. It was unemployed who shouted "Down with Bülow!" broke everything on their way, tore down the English flags and rushed towards the Schloss. Mounted and foot police had the greatest difficulty in the world in keeping them back and dispersing them.

At luncheon at the British Embassy on Wednesday we were sixty-five people at table. The King was very charming to me, recalling memories of the Empress Frederick. This was also one of the subjects of the Queen's conversation. The latter who is very elegant and was dressed in mauve velvet is astonishing for her age, she is so slight and well preserved. After lunch the King, who was sitting on a sofa near the Princess of Pless, suddenly turned round and made signs he was choking. His pallor terrified us all. They sat him on a higher chair and he seemed better. Having taken a cigar he had a second attack of asthma, whereupon he was taken off in his motor and conducted to the Palace. That evening he went to the Ball in the White Hall looking very exhausted. He sat in an armchair under the dais and didn't move because he was supping. At supper time he retired to his apartments. You will understand everybody's anxiety. The Emperor himself confided in me his fears, and the shock he had felt at seeing his uncle so changed in the year since he had last

*Alles ist verboten*

seen him. He told me that at dinner that same evening the King drank whiskey and he sent for some brandy with his coffee. This was to pull himself together and to give himself strength to go to the ball.

On Thursday at the Opera the King looked better. He came to say good-bye and assured everyone that his visit to Berlin had afforded him great pleasure. This is just a little picture of these days, days which we have been through so filled with emotion. I'm much more comfortable now they're over.

*Berlin, 19th February, 1909.*

The King of England has fortunately arrived at home and since he's got back to his own country and its better climate it appears he's feeling better. Besides, I believe that he was very put out and annoyed here. He wanted to be amiable and yet his nephew is personally displeasing to him, the policy carried out by Berlin is contrary to his own, German boastfulness gets on his nerves, and this visit was only undertaken by him because he's too sharp not to realise that it was urgent (which none-the-less did not make it any the more agreeable for him). I have been told that on the day he had his fainting fit at the British Embassy he had had to appear at the Ball against his wishes. Our Majesties made him turn up at half-past eight, whereas in England they don't dance before eleven. It was directly after dinner and he hadn't had time to smoke. At the Ball he was thirsty and asked for a whiskey and water; he was informed that this wasn't available. He asked for a game of cards and he was told that this was not the custom at the Prussian Court. Finally he demanded a cigar and they replied that people didn't smoke in the Palace. After that the King went off to bed! How incredibly tactless we are here! I shall always have the feeling the King

1909]      *"England is Jealous"—A Crown Council*

will remember these pin-pricks which increased the grievances he already had. Here they're very satisfied and repeat that perpetual ineptitude, that England is jealous of Germany.

*Berlin, 22nd February, 1909.*

. . . Everyone is saying that things are happening in our ruling circle these days but up to the present nobody knows quite what. On the 18th towards evening there was a Crown Council at which the Emperor presided. This went on for five hours. The Emperor came out of it with a twitching face and in a frightful temper. He left at once for Potsdam whence he doesn't wish to return to Berlin this year. The Empress accompanied him. She goes with him to Kiel for the swearing in of recruits, and they say that from there they are going by steamer to Corfu early in March travelling round by the Atlantic and visiting Spain on the way. In which case the Sovereigns won't have spent one month in their Capital this Winter and people won't be pleased.

*Berlin, 25th February, 1909.*

Here one talks about nothing but the new taxes and the Emperor's bad temper. People are very preoccupied about this Austrian descent upon Servia. The Powers approached Berlin to use her influence with Vienna. Berlin refused without explanations. Confusion reigns at the Wilhelmstrasse. How indeed can it be otherwise at this place since there are five Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the Emperor, Bülow, Schoen, Kiderlen and Holstein. This host mislead one another. And doesn't this explain better than anything the quibbling, the troubles, and the difficulties which are provoked by German diplomacy? . . .

The Bulgarian gentleman has produced a bombshell by his unexpected arrival at St. Petersburg for the funeral of the



### *Queen Alexandra and General Eine*

Grand-Duke Vladimir. This was in fact extremely clever on his part as a means of obtaining Russia's recognition of his new title. Helen writes me that they held back the train which was bringing him without his knowing it, so he shouldn't arrive until the middle of the funeral and after the procession had passed, thus avoiding questions of precedence.

*Berlin, 1st March, 1909.*

From time to time we get echoes of the visit of the King and Queen of England. At supper at the Court Ball the Queen asked to have as her neighbour General Eine, our War Minister who is one of those most up in arms against England. The Queen spoke very openly to him about those people who were making trouble between England and Germany and added that the King's Government and the King himself had the best intentions towards Germany, they only desired to live at peace with her and all the wicked rumours which had been current had been fomented by the newspapers and possibly by certain highly placed persons (read Bülow) who were constantly trying to fan the flames, and who should not be believed. Eine was quite disconcerted by the royal words and almost promised to behave with greater circumspection in future. All passed off well between the King and the Emperor, but badly between the King and the Empress. She was very sulky with Uncle Edward, whose rather worldly habits did not find favour in her pietistic eyes.

Bülow is becoming more predominant again every day, deriving his feelings of strength from the way in which the Empress, as also the Grand-Duchess of Baden, protect him on the one hand, and the difficulty of finding someone to replace him on the other. It's Bülow whom the Queen should have harangued. He is certainly one of those who

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*The Bosnian Crisis*

have roused most feeling against England in general, and he is one of those most responsible for Germany's present state.

The Emperor can't bring himself to see him any more and yet he clings on to him. How can you explain such a state of affairs which turns Bülow's head and makes him lose the little good sense which might remain. The Emperor doesn't come to town now because he finds it simpler not to run across him.

*Berlin, 13th March, 1909.*

<sup>1</sup> News from Servia is very bad. Austria seems determined on war, the Heir-to-the-Throne is positively grilling with desire to be Commander-in-Chief, and Aerenthal is at the feet of this prince who is not possessed of that outstanding intelligence which he thinks he is. And what is also a particular source of anxiety is the fact that the Austrians are massing a great number of troops on the Italian frontier. This is worrying me considerably. All the diplomats are very anxious and Cambon doesn't think we shall escape war.

The Emperor whom I saw last Thursday seemed fairly well, his speech was less jerky and his eye quieter. He told me that he'd given up the idea of spending the Spring at Corfu, but he didn't hide from me that this was a great sacrifice. I congratulated him upon having done so. He spoke a lot about the Queen of England, who as he said, had been charming during her visit, then he expatiated on the subject of the King about whom he always uses rather bitter words. It's a great mistake.

They say he conferred the day before yesterday for more than an hour with Bülow with whom he's on better terms.

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Bosnian Crisis," pp. 374-9.

## *The Emperor's Reconciliation*

*Berlin, 17th March, 1909.*

They said yesterday that war had broken out but the news changes from hour to hour. Nevertheless Austria is armed to the teeth and her language is very provocative. The day before yesterday the Emperor gave a big dinner to the Ambassadors to whom he appeared quite gay and pleasant. Both the Bülowes received the most marked attentions on the part of the Empress, but the Chancellor wore the gloomiest expression which was noticed by everybody.

Financial affairs aren't going at all well, and Bülow in spite of all his efforts can find no basis for agreement with the Parliamentary Committee on taxes. All parties are so up in arms against the Chancellor I don't believe he will succeed.

*Berlin, 21st March, 1909.*

It appears the Emperor has resumed all his former habits with Bülow and that he goes to the Chancellor's house as of yore. This is the Empress's triumph and I don't know whether to congratulate her upon it. In any case financial affairs aren't making any progress. The House Committee undoes the next day what has been done the day before. It is evident the Government are acting badly and deputies are hesitant as they see difficulties ahead. The Government would certainly get the money they're asking for if people were sure that in a year or two it would not be wanted again. They feel badly governed but the courage is lacking to undo the purse strings.

Yesterday evening I saw Cambon who sees things all the blacker since he finds the German Government is being far from frank. He's even got so far as to be convinced that it is here that war is desired, and nothing is done to calm Austria. It appears Herr Kiderlen, in point of fact our

1909] *Austrian Preparations on the Italian Frontier*

fourth Foreign Minister, is playing a very ugly rôle at the Wilhelmstrasse. He's brusque and inspires the diplomats with terror. They see in him someone of whom they must be more than ever wary.

For a week Panza has been wearing a very preoccupied look. The military preparations on your frontier must have given him something to think about. Also perhaps the Triple Alliance is in great danger. I wish I were mistaken but I have the feeling that this is on the way to being dislocated and in any case it no longer has the appearance of being very solid. Within two or three days from now we shall probably know whether there will be war or not because present conditions can't go on. Austria is losing too much money thereby and her finances will feel the after effects. Pray God if war it is, that it will be localised between Austria and the Servians.

*Berlin, 25th March, 1909.*

The day before yesterday I lunched with the Emperor and I must say I can't understand him at all. He himself announced his reconciliation with Bülow as a happy event. He seemed even to boast about it. I confess I bowed my head and listened in silence without replying. This was the only thing to do in face of language which gave me the impression of being childish and which profoundly displeased me. The Emperor was extremely gay, adopted all his former little joking ways, and appeared to me to have jumped too brusquely from despair to unconcern without having learnt that great lesson which events should have taught him. It is sad and discouraging.

*Berlin, 29th March, 1909.*

The probabilities of war have receded for the simple reason, I think, the world is afraid of it. I don't believe, however,

### *Prince Bülow's "Block"*

all danger has been removed for good. It's only a game postponed.

Here everything is going very badly. It was ten days ago the Emperor made it up with dear Bernard with the intention of lending him powerful support which would enable him to carry off the tax business in Parliament. On the contrary, this reconciliation didn't impose on anybody . . . the "Block" broke into pieces like a bit of glass.<sup>1</sup> Bülow's embarrassment is great, but as he's determined to remain at all cost, he is clinging like a limpet to the wreck and is hoping to try and rub along until the Summer. The Emperor can't hold out any longer here but wants more than anything to go to Corfu and postpone the crisis of the Chancellorship. Were he to appoint anyone at the moment he would be obliged to remain and would have to give up his trip, and this would be too great a sacrifice for him. To-morrow Bülow holds forth on foreign policy and the day after on home affairs. He will doubtless produce a heap of pretty phrases artistically strung together which many will swallow. Hence we shan't know any more than we did before. One shouldn't play with a country in this way. Once the "Block" is in dust Bülow will be confronted with three means of getting out of the impasse he's got himself into through lack of political tact. He can withdraw, make it up with the Centre, or dissolve Parliament. The first method would be the simplest and the most dignified, and would satisfy the country most, but you'll see, nothing will be done about it and under the pretext that he can't at the moment leave Foreign Affairs because of the Balkan crisis, Bülow will remain.

*Berlin, 2nd April, 1909.*

Bülow spoke slowly, in fact very slowly, and very wittily.

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Prince Bülow's Block Policy," pp. 341-2.

He managed to get himself well applauded which he enjoys, but for all his pretty phrases we learnt nothing. He has, however, made plain that he's not going and will keep his billet as Chancellor for as long as the Sovereign doesn't kick him out. Finance was scarcely touched upon and he didn't drop a single word as to how he proposes to deal with matters. Bülow accuses the Nobility of being greedy, but this is only because in Prussia they're poor, and he is trying all means to bring about the Succession Duties which the Conservative Party are dead against. He was quite amusing when referring to the Court Camarilla as a "Sea Serpent." The word is descriptive and will remain. I believe the Emperor is indifferent to the question of Finance and to all that's happening save that which concerns his own Person and the Fleet. As far as he's concerned the country can go to the Devil but he must have ships, nothing but ships, and it's this which is ruining us. I was listening to a very clever man the other day. He said our finances would reorganise themselves very quickly if for a time we gave up expenditure on the fleet and so be free to resume this with greater moderation later. He pointed out that Germany isn't rich enough to keep up the largest army in the world and as powerful a fleet as the Emperor would like.

It appears Radolin is no longer in favour and that his position is shaky. In November he very much took the part of the Emperor against Bülow who won't forgive him for this. Since the reconciliation the latter is ruminating on vengeance and they are seeking combinations to oust him from his Embassy to which he clings above all. Many rumours are current on this subject. They are said to be enchanted by Kiderlen at the Wilhelmstrasse, and it is said that Bülow is dreaming of putting him in Schoen's place here and of giving the latter an Embassy. They talk of

### *Financial Difficulties—Corfu—*

sending him to Constantinople to replace Marschall who will be sent to London, or Paris to replace Radolin.

The war definitely off, Aerenthal is triumphant and Russia furious. As regards the Triple Alliance, what will become of it? Bülow didn't once mention Italy's name in his two speeches and this doesn't foreshadow any good.

*Berlin, 2nd April, 1909.*

Bülow and his wife left on Sunday for Venice. As time passes without a solution being reached so much the more serious does the financial question become and the situation more dangerous. This money question can in my humble opinion attack the Nation's life and bring about its end if the Federal Princes are unduly provoked and were to escape from Prussia's suzerainty. Or this might be the end of the Princes, for Prussia is still capable of taking possession of their countries by force and expropriating them for her own ends. Prussia was made by plunder. It would not be astonishing if she had acquired a taste for it and were wishing to go on. I confess I feel the greatest apprehension for the future of this country.

They're going to make Aerenthal a count and rumour has it that the annexed provinces are to be divided between Austria and Hungary. In a nutshell, it would seem that everything is all for the best in the best of all possible worlds, and in spite of the money they've lost they're congratulating themselves over what had nearly set Europe alight. Here they are on very bad terms with Russia and the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg is in an embarrassing position.

*Berlin, 10th April, 1909.*

There are no means of keeping the Emperor back and next Tuesday he leaves for Corfu with the Empress, their

1909]     *A True Prophecy—Abdul Hamid Deposed*

daughter and two sons. I think the tedious life which the Empress imposes on her husband contributes with lack of work to a profound boredom which torments him. There would be so much to do but he doesn't do anything and he's become so accustomed to the habit of *far niente* that all concentration has become impossible for him. It is certainly one of the most regrettable things which could happen to a Sovereign, and in an age like ours still more so.

Here it's as though the whole atmosphere were crazy. This is the outcome of ambition, greed and the desire for grandeur. The country isn't in a position to struggle against England and to found colonies. One day these ambitious schemes for universal domination will be arrested by a horrible catastrophe.

*Karlsruhe, 14th April, 1909.*

The good Grand Duchess . . . says that the financial question is terrible for the small states of the Empire and that here in the Grand Duchy of Baden it's absolutely impossible for them to agree to a single new tax. After having heard this I asked myself how they will manage to pay our debts at Berlin. It's a veritable enigma.

I'm leaving here again to-morrow evening and will be in Paris Friday morning.

*Paris, 26th April, 1909.*

<sup>1</sup> News from Turkey is very obscure. The Sultan hasn't been deposed up to the present and it's to be hoped no blood will be spilt. This would be the best way for the young Turks to show themselves to Europe in a favourable light.

Yesterday I saw Radolin who expressed himself in front of everybody in a manner which seemed to me most im-

<sup>1</sup> See note on "The Young Turk Revolution," pp. 371-4.



## Paris

prudent and he used language which was not at all that of a diplomat. He said out loud before ten people, "I find that the Sultan's position *vis-à-vis* his ministers is exactly the same as our Emperor's at Berlin. Bülow wanted to get him out of the way and has made him go off to Corfu."

I blushed and allowed myself to reply I had not got that impression in Berlin, and the Emperor had only followed his own inclinations in going off to an estate of which he appeared to be very fond.

The Government here seem little preoccupied with the East as they're so busy with home affairs. They are expecting a railway strike and they say that Clemenceau is resolved to exert all his energies without having any illusions about the dangers which he may run. Pichon is also very alarmed, the Bourse is falling and everywhere fear and anxiety are felt. And with it all luxury is enormous and the unconcern of the young people seems to me a further bad sign on top of all the rest.

Paris, 30th April, 1909.

This poor deposed Sultan has been transported to Salonica I expect more dead than alive and you will probably have to look after him. I'm not sufficiently versed in the situation in the East to be able to judge if they've acted wisely or not in doing as they have, but I must say I am suffering in my monarchical principles at seeing what is happening. All the Powers more or less recognising the new Sultan after twenty-four hours and indifferent Sovereigns amusing themselves ! This is a demoralising state of affairs which leads me to foresee a sad future for our country in a very short time.

At Berlin things are going badly and financial reform finds no agreement among our deputies. The Conservatives don't want Succession Duties, the "Block" isn't working any

longer and I doubt whether Bülow can remain at his post since no compromise can be found nor any means of coming to an understanding. The Emperor's absence certainly adds to the difficulties. His indifference which is felt by the public does not conduce to things being done as his Government desires. It is inconceivable he shouldn't understand that he owes it to his subjects to stay in this country and busy himself with their affairs.

*Paris, 8th-12th May, 1909.*

. . . At Berlin the most extraordinary things are happening. You will have read in the newspapers that the Conservatives have addressed an ultimatum to Bülow in which they say the Prince has only to retire if personal reasons hinder him from working with the Catholic Centre Party. If Bülow still hesitates to go after a warning like this he's incomprehensible. Besides, he must be in a painful position and Holstein's death must have been a severe blow to him. Although the Emperor had dismissed Holstein this fatal man had remained Bülow's intimate counsellor. The latter asked his advice in everything, and it is certain that the Chancellor has lost in His grizzly Eminence his chief political support. I confess his death causes me no regret. Holstein whilst possessing plenty of wit was animated by a spirit of vengeance which made him judge everything through distorted spectacles. This led him always to bring to book those he thought harmful to himself. In this guise he has been the evil genius of Germany and we largely owe to him the evils which have attacked the country for the last five years. He is the man with eyes like a hyena as Bismarck said, though the Prince made only too much use of him and bequeathed him to William II's reign, which is now feeling the after-effects. I would like to think all the consequences of this detestable

*Frau von Lebbin*

influence were finished, but I'm not sure and I fear we shall still have to endure this baneful influence. God knows what papers he's left and into whose hands he's put them.

*Paris, 16th May, 1909.*

The threat of strikes continues, the Chamber is overwhelmed and never has greater disorder been seen. Deputies singing "the International," others the "Marseillaise" and yet others the "Vendecan," and Monsieur Baudry d'Ausson mounting the tribune in the midst of all this *charivari* to cry, "Vive le Roi" . . . in short an incalculable state of mind which might lead to revolution without the Monarchy ever coming to anything. . . .

In Berlin Parliament wants no more of Bülow. The Centre daily becomes more powerful and would become even more so if they were to have new elections. Every day discontent is increasing not alone in Prussia but throughout Germany. This is a dangerous state of affairs. The Federal Countries consider that they are being very ill administered by the present Imperial Government.

*Berlin, 24th May, 1909.*

. . . It appears that Holstein has left all his papers to his friend Frau von Lebbin who's frightfully pleased with herself and is going about everywhere saying, "Es ist meine Macht" : "Herein is my power." Bülow's so terrified he's redoubling his attentions towards this extremely intriguing woman and there are now no doubts in anybody's mind some secret existed between Holstein and Bülow.

The Vienna visit has not had happy results. The Emperor had a splendid reception there but the toasts were too much of a good thing. The Czar is furious and already announces a new visit to France. The King of England, also wild about

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*Crete—Goltz in Constantinople*

it, has let it be known that he won't do his annual cure at Marienbad, as this place is in Austria. We should do better if we kept quiet and above all didn't talk so much.

*Trachenberg, 29th May, 1909.*

. . . Eulenburg has gone off on the quiet for baths at Gastein. Although he ought to have asked permission from the court, his trial being only postponed, he hasn't done so and now he's out of the country. I doubt very much if he'll return and this all creates a very bad impression.

*Kleinitz, 5th-9th June, 1909.*

. . . The Emperor has insisted upon seeing the Czar when he's off Kiel on his next journey, and this request has very much annoyed the latter who naturally couldn't very well refuse.

<sup>1</sup> Crete is now occupying all the papers and the question is so complicated owing to the lack of foresight on the part of all the Powers I cannot conceive how they'll get out of it without letting off guns.

They write to me from Berlin, "The recent departure of General Goltz for Constantinople is due to the desire of the Emperor." France having sent a financial man, and England an adviser upon naval questions, Germany wanted Goltz to carry out for the army what he had already begun there. It seems the young Turks adore Goltz, and the articles which the latter has launched on their behalf in the Press have certainly increased their enthusiasm for him.

*Kleinitz, 15th June, 1909.*

. . . The newspapers are full of the Eulenburg affair. He has had to leave Gastein because the court had him watched

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Crete," pp. 379-81.

*The Emperor William meets the Czar*

there and they all say that proceedings are about to begin again. It's horrible and I wish people wouldn't go on talking about it.

*Kleinitz, 17th June, 1909.*

It's to-day that the two northern Emperors have their meeting in Finnish Waters and you will have noticed that the tone of the Russian newspapers isn't at all agreeable. They don't care for these German visits because in Russia they detest everything German more and more, and the German press replies in very acid tones, all of which doesn't predispose the two countries to be affable in spite of any outward cordiality which the meeting between the two Sovereigns might have. I know if I were the Emperor of Germany I wouldn't budge from my country ; I would try and administer it as best I could ; I would strengthen it internally as well as externally, and in this way I should make myself so much respected that people would come to *me* to solicit *my* goodwill, which they would be glad of, without my having to run after *them* on the look out for meetings to which they attach not the smallest value.

The Deputies are now in Berlin and everyone is asking what will result from their deliberations on the subject of the taxes. Will the understanding between the Parties come about : They say "yes," but I doubt it.

*Kleinitz, 25th-29th June, 1909.*

From Berlin they write to me "Bülow's speech hasn't pleased anybody, and if, as is expected, the Death Duties aren't passed Bülow will have to go. We shall soon see the end of all these comedies. As for Prince Eulenburg his cure at Gastein has done him a lot of harm. The court hasn't been able to do other than resume proceedings. This time they will be in camera, which is at least something to be

thankful for. It is expected that he'll be acquitted. Anything's possible these days. . . ."

Things are going decidedly badly in Turkey owing to the rupture with the Patriarchate, but you must agree the Greeks are not very sympathetic and I can understand the Turks find a difficulty in tolerating them. The Turks are altogether superior in character to the Greeks or Armenians, even if these do happen to be Christians. Certainly it is only by a War that young Turkey will be able to achieve her aim . . . but a victorious war is required.

What is happening at Berlin is incredible. Keeping on Bülow in face of the Conservative Party or dissolving Parliament against the same Party are two things which have never been seen in the annals of such a monarchical country as Prussia. What infuriates them at Berlin is the feeling they have been beaten by the Catholic Centre Party whom they wished to vanquish and finish off. They wanted to get rid of their preponderance (though there was no sound reason for fighting them and they acted with their eyes open), which this party with so much adroitness had learnt to acquire in Parliament and in the country. German Protestants don't take into any account the strength of Catholicism. Instead of profiting by and making use of the backing this would give them, they imagine they will achieve their object by persecuting the Catholics. And this always produces the opposite effect. The Government have taken a dislike to everything Catholic or even anything approaching it and they become furious when the strength of the Centre party obliges them to give way. They try to resist but all resistance is totally useless, the Catholics being the stronger on account of their discipline and patience.<sup>1</sup>

Frau Schwabach who is staying for the moment at her

<sup>1</sup> See Editor's Introduction, p. 6.

### *Bülow Prepares to Go*

villa in the Grünerwald wrote to me yesterday as follows : "His Majesty has said that the Conservatives' desire to see the Chancellor go was an excellent reason for supporting him as he had no wish for parliamentary government. Furthermore, it appears that internal questions of the country don't interest His Majesty as they should and for the time being he's all for the Czar."

*Kleinitz, 3rd July, 1909.*

I've heard from Berlin some political news which might interest you. "Paul Schwabach has seen Rheinbaben (Finance Minister) who, whilst repeating that nothing was known as yet about the choice of a new Chancellor, said the name of Bethmann Hollweg was coming more and more to the fore, and at the same time they were talking of Mumm, at present Ambassador at Tokio, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Bülow is packing up and those people who have seen him say that he's pleased to be going, but at the same time feels hurt at the manner in which he's been treated by the Reichstag. An amusing rumour is running round the town. Schoen had been talking openly about his approaching appointment as Ambassador in Paris, whereupon the Emperor on hearing of this replied : "I wasn't aware that Radolin was to be replaced. As far as I'm concerned Radolin's remaining at his post."

I've also had a letter from the Deputy, Prince Carolath. Here's an extract, "I've got to return to Berlin to-morrow and I'm furious about it. They've robbed me of my Spring and they are still depriving me of my Summer. Nevertheless I hope that it will all be over soon, or rather I should say, finally. Bülow's attitude is quite incomprehensible. With his optimism which nothing can vanquish or disrupt he believed in his success up till the last minute when no-one

else could. He gave the impression of a child playing in a garden oblivious of the approaching storm. After so many checks he should have retired immediately without hiding behind a thousand excuses and reasons. He ought to have persisted in his resignation and not come back from Kiel to the Chancellery in Berlin.

"This attitude would have been understood and applauded by his friends and above all by the German public, and would have been respected abroad. Unhappily for him, and what is worse for us, Bülow falls in a painful manner. Love of power and the habits of Court prevent him from adopting the frank tone which he should and from having the requisite energy for making a resolve."

As you see, Bülow hasn't got a good press and the Emperor believes himself to be stronger than he is in acting as he does. In high places they must intentionally leave him in a condition of prodigious illusionment for things to be as they are. For instance, at Kiel this week where he is only amusing himself, and this staying far away from his capital where, however, his presence is so badly needed. I am convinced that he adjourned the Chancellor's crisis only to give himself time to make his trip to Norway. Let's hope he doesn't pay too dearly for this.

*Kleinitz, 8th July, 1909.*

At Berlin the comedy continues. Bülow leaves but he's still always there, and the Emperor continues to amuse himself at Kiel. The picture I am drawing is dreadfully sad but unfortunately true. I have received a very long letter from the Grand Duchess of Baden who is also very anxious . . . she doesn't appear to take into account the Government's responsibility for the present crisis. None the less this responsibility is very considerable. The Government's biggest



### *A Heartfelt Cry*

mistake was dissolving Parliament eighteen months ago<sup>1</sup> without sufficient motive and only from hatred of the Centre Party, which came back stronger than ever. That this party exists in Germany we owe to Bismarck. In persecuting the Catholics as he did he forced them to defend themselves.

I see in the Berlin papers proceedings against Prince Eulenburg are to begin again to-morrow, but that the Prince has had recourse to his old comedy and he declares he's not only ill but dying.

*Kleinitz, 11th July, 1909.*

I made a trip to Berlin the day before yesterday and lunched with Frau Schwabach. She told me everybody was sad and anxious. The Emperor's absence during the crisis had the worst effect, and this way of keeping Bülow in suspense without giving any indication as to the appointment of his successor not only creates an unfortunate impression but gives rise to suppositions of every description. Quite a number believe Bülow will be recalled, and others have a horrible fear that the Emperor will appoint a colourless Chancellor so that he can be his own. Bethmann, Wedel, Radolin, in short, God knows who, even Monts, are mentioned.

It appears that the Emperor has felt great relief at the death of the famous Holstein. He was then at Corfu when Wangenheim, German Minister at Athens came to see him. From the other end of the room the Emperor shouted: "Come quick so that I can kiss you, I've just received a telegram announcing the death of Holstein . . . Ugh!" It was a heartfelt cry.

At Berlin they've become quite clever at playing a comedy in all our ruling spheres, and this country where for thirty years we've had a feeling of sincerity and security has quite

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Bülow's Block Policy" pp. 341-2.

lost this atmosphere now. It's a great pity. I don't say the Conservative Party hasn't committed great faults, but people forget that in this country men are accustomed to being led. And Bülow who wished to change his majority by excluding the Centre thought he could establish it in a Conservative-Liberal "Block" which wasn't very practicable. This "Block" could only have been kept going by dint of energy, instead of which Bülow in presenting his proposals for financial reform, sought only more or less skilful compromises which didn't impress the Conservatives.

I learnt in Berlin the Emperor had been against a dissolution of Parliament eighteen months ago and that he only gave way owing to the insistence of Bülow pushed on by Holstein in the background. The Emperor was quite right, he shouldn't have allowed himself to be carried along by his Chancellor who didn't show himself to be very clear-sighted. Poor Gallifet<sup>1</sup> has just died and I'm very upset about it. Although he was ten years older than me we had known each other since our earliest childhood. At Paris he came almost daily to my grandmother's house and paid constant visits to Rochcotte. I can't see him go without feeling pain. I don't know whether he saw a priest before departing to render an account to God of his adventurous life. They write me that he has left a letter for the War Minister asking to be buried without military honours and they're respecting his wishes. No-one deserved them more than he.

Last Spring having arranged all my papers, I had in my hand my correspondence with the General and I was thinking to myself last night that the person who possessed these letters after me might find things of great interest and some very witty reflections amongst them, but also some rather naughty ones too !

<sup>1</sup> General the Marquis de Gallifet distinguished himself in the Franco-German War in 1870. He was French Minister for War in 1899.

## *The New Chancellor*

*Kleinitz, 15th July, 1909.*

The Emperor is back in Berlin this morning and I've just had this wire saying, "Bethmann Hollweg Chancellor, Delbrück Interior, Wermuth Commerce, Trott Education, Sydow dismissed."

The new Chancellor is a man of straw. The Emperor wants to be his own, that's what this appointment of Bethmann means and I am very curious to see what the newspapers will tell us in the morning. My own belief is that Bülow's fall is due to his fatal resolution to dissolve Parliament eighteen months ago and form his famous "Block." Without this there would certainly have been Death Duties but with modifications formulated by the Government.

In all events what has just happened is the triumph of the Centre Party and the new Chancellor will be obliged to work with it. We'll see what is going to happen and whether the Emperor will be more self-controlled. He has received so many lessons they must have some value.

*Kleinitz, 19th July, 1909.*

This afternoon the Bülows are leaving the Imperial Chancellery and Berlin after eight days of concentrating upon themselves all the flattery they possibly could. It's conceivable that he may be regretted on account of the influence he's able to exert over the Emperor. He has certainly prevented several unfortunate blunders but he was far from preventing them all, and he made the Emperor commit some political faults which the country won't easily get over. The Emperor didn't want the Moroccan affair but Bülow egged on by Holstein pushed him into it against his will ; he didn't want Algeciras, Bülow and Holstein got him into it. I don't know whether on his own the Emperor would have wanted the Law for the Expropriation of Polish lands. His Majesty

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*Herr von Bethmann Hollweg*

didn't wish to dissolve Parliament, Bülow forced him into it. I see nothing but mistakes which were due to this influence.

Bethmann will be quite another matter. He's very honest, he would suffer rather than lie, and at present not one of his sentiments is dominated by vanity. Will he know how to stand up to the Emperor? Has he sufficient authority and initiative to be heard? I don't think so. As for Foreign Affairs he hasn't of course the remotest inkling. He has never left the Home Civil Service and he has travelled very little outside Germany. His mother is a Frenchwoman and owing to this he talks French marvellously which is something when one has to see a lot of diplomats, but it's not everything. His wife was a Fräulein Pfuel, niece of old Herr von Pfuel who was Prussian Minister in Sweden for many years. She has been very pretty but has delicate health, and she lacks Frau von Bülow's elegance but her character is more serious.

The Emperor tore himself away from his pleasures and sport at Kiel to spend a couple of days in Berlin. He made various appointments and held audiences with his new Ministers in the Palace Garden on the banks of the Spree where the Public were able to observe his gestures from the quay opposite. Then he hastened off to sea again to undertake this eternal Norwegian cruise which he must know by heart.

*Kleinitz, 23rd July, 1909.*

I have had a letter from Frau Schwabach and the other day I saw young Prince Reuss who is working at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and who came here to spend a few days with his mother. They both say that in spite of all the tenderness which he heaped on Bülow there's no doubt the Emperor is delighted about his departure, because he has never forgiven him for last November. Bülow must have

*Count Botho Eulenburg—Marschall*

been very extraordinary in his demands (for "demand" is the real word for describing all that has happened). It seems the Emperor hadn't the smallest desire to have Bethmann as Chancellor and that it was Bülow who insisted on this, saying that although of course he knew nothing whatever about foreign policy he was the only person who could carry on the internal policy inaugurated by the Emperor and himself. The Emperor would have liked Count Botho Eulenburg who was a minister with Caprivi and he made him come secretly to Kiel to offer him the Chancellorship. But Eulenburg refused categorically saying he was too old to assume such a responsibility. The Emperor also summoned Prince Wedel to Kiel, and he also refused saying that he didn't share the views which were ruling at the present time. It was after these two refusals that the Emperor decided on Bethmann. But this appointment promises little success. In any case they say the Emperor looks upon it as only provisional, and the moment he's hit on someone else who would please him better for this post he will change it. I am sure that the choice of Marschall would have been the only good one, but he's too determined for the Emperor who doesn't like this and so there's no hope of His Majesty's ever being able to make up his mind to make him Chancellor. Everyone regrets this because they feel he was the one person who would have been able to rescue the country from this serious crisis which is so apparent to everybody.

Bülow, not content with having got his candidate the Chancellorship, also persuaded the Emperor to make a demonstration in his favour by dining with him before his departure and so attract the attention of the crowd on leaving the Wilhelmstrasse. All this, in order that the public shouldn't be under the impression the Emperor and his Chancellor had parted coldly. The Emperor who must be very weak fell

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*Bülow's "Fury"*

in with all Bülow's wishes. It's all most extraordinary but true. What can you expect ! Characters change with the years and our Sovereign has done a *volte-face* latterly. For the moment he has gone on a cruise and the new Chancellor is on leave.

And now here's Clemenceau defeated when this was least expected ! What's going to happen ?

*Kleinitz, 27th July, 1909.*

I have a letter saying that only a few hours before joining his train at Kiel to go to Berlin to make his appointments the Emperor again had Wedel sent for to implore him to accept the post of Chancellor, and this was the third time within a week the Emperor had renewed his request. Wedel held firm and refused very politely but very categorically, which rather surprises me considering he is such a courtier, but this pleases me all the more and is proof that he knows what he wants. There aren't many like him in Prussia.

*Kleinitz, 4th August, 1909.*

Someone who accompanied Bülow when he left Berlin told me he departed from the Chancellery with fury in his heart, feeling all the Emperor's tenderness was only to conceal the joy which he felt at his going. At Berlin nobody believes Bethmann will remain long at his new post as this wasn't the Emperor's choice, but that the Sovereign will continue on the look-out for a chancellor. It is possible however Bethmann will bring unexpected talents to his new task and remain longer than people expect.

*Kleinitz, 16th-24th August, 1909.*

At the moment I am having a visit from Frau von Liebenau whose husband was formerly Court Chamberlain to the

### *A Separatist Spirit*

present Emperor. She tells me Bethmann is being received sympathetically as Chancellor by everybody including the federal princes, which is also what the Grand Duchess of Baden says in a letter. Here is an extract, "Everywhere people are discontented including even our Centre Party. The financial reforms which are neither at an end nor sufficient are much criticised. Mercifully the Chancellor's personality inspires general confidence but his task certainly won't be easy. One of the most regrettable symptoms, the fruit of months of misunderstanding and useless discussion, is the separatist spirit which is raging more and more in the North and South of Germany in the Conservative Party. You see how everywhere there's a muddle. . . . These are unsatisfactory times, let's hope they're passing."

Yes, I know how the interior of Germany is discontented with the North. The two peoples are really very different from each other and their interests are different too. All this added to their extremely exasperating and quarrelsome nature is very contrary to a spirit of unity. But Germany will always remain united in the face of foreigners. I think the Emperor ought to show more deference towards the federal princes who complain bitterly of the manner in which they are treated by him. The latter avoids talking to them when they come to Berlin, never informs himself of what is going on in their countries and never gives them an opportunity of expressing their political ideas. They feel this lack of respect and it puts them in an extremely bad temper. It only makes them regard Prussia with hatred, and they find her system of Government peculiarly disagreeable.

At Berlin courtesy is something which is becoming more and more unknown.

1909]     *Crete—Zeppelins—"Deutschland über Alles"*

*Kleinitz, 1st September, 1909.*

It seems to me things are going very badly in Greece.<sup>1</sup> The revolt of the officers appears a very serious matter and at this moment of crisis particularly so. The Cretan Question isn't terminated and if they can't have a war immediately they will certainly have one sooner or later.

At Berlin people can only think and dream of balloons. The Emperor has so roused popular enthusiasm by his boastings that one would think he had already made a conquest of the air when they're still only experimenting and are far from achieving a definite success. Zeppelin II stuck on its way to Berlin and broke in two on the return journey.

I hope to arrive in Berlin this evening.

*Kleinitz, 5th September, 1909.*

At Berlin I only heard talk of Zeppelin; one hears his name in every compartment, in all the stations, in every shop. It's a perfect mania and a wild enthusiasm which has caught even the most serious minded people. They're convinced they have brought off a great victory and the pride of the Germans knows no limit. They all repeat, vying with each other, "Deutschland über Alles."

I went to the Tiergarten to look at a rose-garden which the Emperor had made. The flowers were magnificent. All kinds of roses were represented there and in the centre there is a great pool of coloured water-lilies. This is dominated by a white full-length marble statue of the Empress, on her head a hat with feathers, a dull enough dress, a rose in her hand, pearls round her neck, everything to make her look ugly. The impression was not agreeable. It's really too modern to have a monument put up while you're still alive.

I've had a wire from Princess Hatzfeldt who wants to come

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Crete," pp. 379-81.



*Bethmann's Honesty—Mass in German*

here to-morrow evening to pay me a visit for some days. This is very nice and her stay will certainly give me pleasure.

*Kleinitz, 17th September, 1909.*

Princess Hatzfeldt's visit took up a lot of my time. She told me nothing much can be expected of the new Chancellor. For one thing they find him very tiresome because they know his ideas will follow Bülow's, and these are no longer wanted. He is considered to have little character and they know his flexible habit of bending to the desires of others as he hasn't the strength to resist a stronger will than his own, even if he hasn't been convinced. Her husband, the Prince, doesn't believe he can last long, although everyone recognises the very honest character which he possesses.

The Princess spoke of an extraordinary conversation she had about a year ago with the Emperor. His Majesty told her he would not be able to rest until he had succeeded in getting Mass sung in German; he had approached Rome in the matter but had met with a refusal, even his entreaties had not produced the smallest concession. When the Princess explained to him he would never obtain consent to this, the Emperor replied, "But you don't belong to the Catholic Centre Party, you're a broadminded Catholic and ought to understand this from the point of view of patriotism." As the Princess was about to answer him the Emperor quickly moved away. On another occasion she had to endure a real battle with Prince Henry who dared to say to her that it was absolutely essential Catholicism should be destroyed in Germany because it was the greatest enemy of the country. These two stories will astonish you, because you're a long way off and so can't realise what's happening here and the blindness of those who govern us. . . . It appears there are

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*The Emperor's Misplaced Eloquence*

people who believe that the Emperor isn't quite all there, and a certain fear in this connection exists in the country. The Princess spoke to me about it and said it is discussed almost openly.

What do you think of the action of the Egyptians *vis-à-vis* England demanding that the English should leave their country finally in keeping with the promises made by Queen Victoria : Is there also a Young Egyptian Party out there ?

*Kleinitz, 21st-25th September, 1909.*

You will have read the Emperor's latest speech at Karlsruhe with his "Rocher de bronze," and it seems he said a lot more than they dared to print. Also they're laughing in the papers at his making the Grand Duke of Baden and his brother-in-law the Duke of Meiningen Field-Marschals. One asks what he would do after a successful campaign. The Sovereign's far too abundant eloquence and follies are attracting ever more and more criticism and blame. This is a great pity. They say that Bülow can't accustom himself to his present position—particularly his loss of power. His wife will be inconsolable.

The newspapers are empty and that's all to the good because it's proof that everybody's quiet, but they'll be only too full when the two Houses meet again. Financial reform will probably bob up. The taxes which were voted in June being insufficient another three hundred millions are required. The Government didn't admit their deficit as they were ashamed of it, which I can well understand, because they're guilty of having let things drift for such a long time and have managed things so badly. They ought to have stopped getting into debt in time and not gone on increasing it. . . . We shall see how Bethmann will get out of it all. . . .

## *Empress of Russia's Attack*

*Kleinitz, 29th September, 1909.*

There are still those who believe in the Emperor's great intelligence, but I changed my opinion on that score a long while ago. At first he dazzled us, his speech was brilliant, his good intentions evident, his desire to do well unquestioned, but it has become only too apparent that he gives himself no time to grasp anything properly, that he mistakes agitation for activity, and in spite of his display of autocracy that no-one can be more easily influenced than he, when he is being amused by vulgar German puns and expressions which are often unworthy of his notice. It's an extraordinary thing to say, but the Empress, whose intelligence is as poor as it's restricted, now exerts an enormous influence on her august spouse. The story of Mass in German certainly originated with her and the bigoted Protestant Party who are behind her. The Emperor without going into things at all or considering the matter seized upon this idea which fitted in so well with his ever-growing desire to place Germany above everything, even Catholicism. This was not the action of an intelligent or farsighted man and lessens my admiration. Though this doesn't in any way shake my belief in his goodness of heart, I've had too many proofs not to believe in that, I no longer have the same faith in his intellectual powers.

I am dreading the resumption of Parliamentary activities.

They say that the Empress of Russia has become quite mad. The latest attack took place in Livadia some days ago. Specialists were promptly sent for from St. Petersburg and there is a question of getting others from abroad, and whether they may not have to shut her up.

*Kleinitz, 7th October, 1909.*

They say in the papers that our new Chancellor is going to Rome in November as Bülow will be there then and he

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*Countess Sophie Chotek*

will introduce him to the Court, the Ministers and the Vatican. This is proof that Bülow is trying to retain his influence in all quarters and pull strings in the background. It would be a pity if it came off. Nevertheless I don't believe that Bethmann can get along on his own even in home affairs. As regards the diplomatic side of things he's worse than ignorant, but as he's very honourable perhaps he'll keep quiet. The best thing that could happen as this would avoid the worst blunders.

Now here's the Emperor of Austria giving the title "Highness" to the little Chotek, wife of the Archducal Heir-Apparent. All the German newspapers noting this rise in the world announce that she will certainly be Queen of Hungary if not Empress. It's by no means out of the question this may happen and that we shall see the degradation of Imperial and Royal families who formerly were so exclusive. Times have changed altogether, but what strikes me most forcibly is the speed with which this depressing collapse is taking place everywhere.

*Kleinitz, 19th October, 1909.*

The Crown Prince has been up in a dirigible balloon. Zeppelins have also turned his head, for of course he adores all sport. Everywhere in Germany people are grumbling about the new taxes and particularly about the way these are collected. Not only is there a very much higher tax on foreign wines but a considerable amount has to be paid besides for the analysis which the government insists on. The employees have their fill of wine and liqueurs under the pretext of merely tasting them. On all sides there are nothing but quibbles.

The Ferrer business has produced an outbreak of folly in

*Francisco Ferrer—The Czar Passes Through*

Europe.<sup>1</sup> Probably Free-Masonry is at the bottom of this effervescence. Possibly his trial was not conducted with all the usual formalities but that's Spain's affair and not the business of France, England or Italy. Old Lepine, the Head of the Police, was nearly killed in Paris and there were many other victims. All this on behalf of Ferrer who was quite unknown hitherto, and about whom one heard talk only because of his pernicious doctrines which led to the Barcelona revolt. The saddest part of all this is that it is a church matter, and it's against the Catholic Church in particular all this wrath is directed.

I have a depressing feeling of general collapse which has been weighing on me more and more. The world has been trembling almost continuously for the past year. Monarchies are shaky owing to the stupidity of their Sovereigns, Republics are only maintaining themselves by holding out a hand to Free-Masonry, armaments are made of inventions which are becoming more and more destructive, steel already encircles almost the whole world; what with rails, cables, and telephone wires. Really one would think the end of the world were coming, one feels so uneasy these days.

*Kleinitz, 30th October, 1909.*

Yesterday the Czar who was on his way to pay a visit to your King passed through a railway station two hours from here. The Emperor William and the Court at Potsdam are furious at his going through Germany without even the smallest handshake. They say it was Dolgourouky, the new

<sup>1</sup> Francisco Ferrer, an Intellectual with anarchist sympathies, was accused of having fomented a revolt at Barcelona. He was condemned to death by court martial and shot on the 14th October. There were popular demonstrations against his execution in several countries, including riots in Paris.

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*A Visit from the Franz Ferdinands*

Russian Ambassador in Rome, who made his Court understand it was high time this visit took place.

*Berlin, 13th November, 1909.*

Few people are back in town. The shopkeepers and people in Society are complaining of the general and exaggerated rise in prices which is making life in Berlin more impossible every day. The Court are at Potsdam where the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, the new Highness, Sophie Chotek, are to be received. I consider this invitation and reception most imprudent on account of their false position, the outcome of this morganatic marriage. It will create an impression that we are anxious, nay ready, to encourage a union on the day when her husband will want to share his throne with his wife. And that this day will come no-one in Austria doubts. The Archduke is to have four days' shooting with the Emperor during which time his wife will remain alone with the Empress. Picture the conversation of this Ultramontane Catholic with that pietistic Protestant! À propos of this it seems the Protestants are beside themselves over the ecclesiastical taxes which we have to pay now. They no longer go to Church saying that they don't believe in it after all. You see the splendid results obtained by the Empress and Mirbach. The Catholics also have to pay these taxes but they resign themselves to this and don't desert.

Parliament will be opened on November 30th when Bethmann will outline his policy. Up to the present he's kept quiet, which I think shows his wisdom. Notwithstanding it's the anniversary of those unhappy sessions of last year criticising the Emperor, the latter is going back to Prince Fürstenburg to spend some days indulging in those pleasures which the Prince knows so well how to provide for him. I tremble to think of what a tactless press will say.

## *Visiting Royalties*

*Berlin, 16th November, 1909.*

At this moment we have the Crown Prince of Greece here. He is on a visit to his Imperial brother-in-law with his wife. In Berlin he seems to be living quietly but in Paris from where he's just come he amused himself day and night and behaved in the most scandalous way. People are most indignant about it. This is particularly unfortunate at a time when Greece is in such a precarious state. The King of Greece is no better for that matter. He's no sympathy for the country over which he reigns and appears to have remained a Danish Prince. In Greece nothing is of any consequence to him and he only stays there because if he went off on his own he would lose the six hundred thousand francs a year which the Great Powers have agreed to allow him if he is pushed out by his own people.

Knesebeck who came to see me last night tells me that the Chotek was given precedence over all the princesses of royal blood. She sat on the Emperor's right-hand side at meals. But on the whole she came well out of it and she hid herself under a modest exterior. In spite of this, however, the position was a false one, and most disagreeable. The other princesses were more than put out. It's all very silly and the marriage absurd. If one cannot renounce one's *amour* one should give up the Throne.

*Berlin, 20th-24th November, 1909.*

Yesterday I was at a big dinner at the Russian Embassy. I sat next the Austrian Ambassador who didn't appear to be very pleased with Aerenthal and complained of all the blunders which the latter had committed since his annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He looks to the future with considerable misgiving.

The Emperor is off shooting and amusing himself with

his friends Fürstenburg, Haenckel, and Pless. The Ministers seem rather anxious regarding the next Parliamentary session. They feel people are discontented. The numerous socialist elections inspire fear, and the fact that they will be obliged to demand another 540 millions in further taxation in addition to the 600 millions they've already had last June doesn't make the situation very rosy. Gold is becoming scarce and we're getting paper for five and ten marks. This makes one think.

*Berlin, 28th November, 1909.*

You will have read Pichon's speech on Morocco. This was quite friendly to Germany but these wranglers here didn't feel this and the Press is full of things which won't be pleasing to the French.

Bethmann is proposing to open the Parliamentary debate with two big speeches which he's preparing with special care. One is to deal with Home Affairs and the other with Foreign. According to what the Austrian Ambassador told me, Bethmann's Vienna journey will have given him food for thought. It appears that Aerenthal put the question to him point blank, "What is your policy *vis-à-vis* the Poles going to be? You know that if you push things too far we shall have to withdraw from the Alliance to which you appear to attach a certain value. Here in Austria we find our greatest support amongst the Poles. They form our majority in the Chamber and we can't treat them with the same severity as you do your Poles. We prefer to tell you this outright quite frankly." This language seems to have made an impression on Bethmann who replied that he would do his best to undo the harm which had already been done and to lessen little by little the severity of past years. He added, "Naturally I can't immediately alter all that's happened



*Prussia's Polish Subjects—Jagow*

in the past, but I promise you that I will do all I can to relieve the situation because the Emperor attaches too much value to the Alliance to drop it on account of the Polish Question." The Ambassador was charged by Aerenthal with reminding Bethmann of his promise when he returned to his post a fortnight ago and the Chancellor gave him the same assurances. Let's hope the position of the Poles will improve. The Ambassador also told me Bülow always maintained it was the Emperor who wanted to act harshly towards the Poles, whereas he himself was convinced that it was Bülow egged on by Holstein.

Jagow's appointment to Rome was also against the Emperor's wish. It was Bülow and Holstein, whose man Jagow was, who wanted it and now it appears people are very annoyed about it and also over Bülow's machinations with Jagow in Rome. I am assured on all sides that the Emperor is more pleased than ever at being rid of Prince Bülow . . .

*Berlin, 2nd-6th December, 1909.*

Last Tuesday the Emperor opened Parliament with a rather colourless speech and towards the end he reiterated his belief in the solidarity of the Triple Alliance, in which I haven't the same faith as he, and this part of it brought him applause. Yesterday Election to Office was proceeded with. A member of the Centre Party was elected Vice-President. The famous Conservative-Liberal "Block" which Bülow invented has entirely ceased to exist. Everyone is asking upon whom Bethmann will lean and where he will look for his majority.

I saw Blücher last night. He predicts general bankruptcy within a short time and war with England in the near future, and he added, "We haven't enough money even to mobilise!" . . .

I met the new Chancellor at Count Redern's funeral. He certainly isn't of the amusing kind, but he's quiet and is said to manage things competently. He hasn't any mental alertness which must often irritate the Emperor, but he won't tolerate the slightest familiarity and he makes himself respected, which is something.

I've seen some Russians these last few days, Pahlen and Knorring amongst others. They all grumble at the way in which Iswolski is managing their affairs and they look extremely discontented. They maintain that when Iswolski gives up his appointment in St. Petersburg this will be to become Ambassador at Berlin. It seems to me this would be too close to his irreconcilable enemy Aerenthal. The latter should not delay coming here and paying his visit to Bethmann.

Meanwhile the Emperor is shooting and amusing himself. The Empress sees very little of him and must have lost her influence. The poor woman has been very badly advised by her circle, who have a very narrow outlook and hope to succeed by small intrigues which never produce any real good.

*Berlin, 14th December, 1909.*

Our new Chancellor is starting off in quite a pleasing way although his outlook isn't very brilliant. He appears in Parliament as though he were above and not at the head of a Party like Bülow was. He wants peace above all and asks the German Press to help him in this task instead of exciting passions as they've been doing up to the present. This seems to me a wise procedure and I can only hope Bethmann will remain firm and won't allow himself to be led away by all sorts of people in a political arena so full of those ambushes and factions which are so characteristic of German politics.

### *Death of King Leopold of the Belgians*

The only thing with which I reproach Bethmann is the fact that he didn't see fit to express his sound ideas in more distinguished language because his words would have carried much greater weight not only in the country but also abroad and particularly with the Emperor. The latter has become so accustomed to Bülow's brilliant eloquence he must have found his new Chancellor very commonplace.

*Berlin, 18th-22nd December, 1909.*

And now the King of the Belgians is dead. As a private individual and father of a family he was odious, but as Sovereign he had great merits and knew how to govern Belgium well and to manage his own properties. I feel that the Countess of Flanders is acting towards the King's daughters with tact and kindness. He treated them abominably. She will certainly inspire in the King her son those kindly feelings which everyone has for these three princesses.

You will have read the Chancellor's speech in connection with Alsace-Lorraine.<sup>1</sup> I find it was not so good as his first two also less logical. It seems to me before demanding proofs of loyalty from Alsace-Lorraine it would be better to give her an opportunity of showing some. So long as these provinces have to submit to a régime of special laws which limit their independence and rub them up the wrong way it won't be easy for them to give proofs of loyal feeling. The fact of the matter is that since the annexation conciliatory measures have not proceeded a single step and discontent reigns all the time.

The King of the Belgians has the reputation of being very well informed and rather socialistic in his views. He prefers talking German, doubtless on account of his mother, which pleases people very much here where they say that the

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Alsace-Lorraine," pp. 345-7.

1909]      *Tardieu on Bülow—A Tap on the Back*

Brussels Court will become quite German. Could anything be more idiotic ?

*Berlin, 26th-30th December, 1909.*

I'm reading at this moment a book of Tardieu's on Prince Bülow. Numerous extracts are quoted from his speeches so that one can see that sometimes his words were lacking in logic, were often confused, and that he repeated himself. He shone by the happy quotations he made and by the amusing touch he knew so well how to give his speeches, but I am becoming more and more amazed that legislators who are usually people of experience and culture should have allowed themselves to be taken in ten years running by such a comedian. One thing we know, and that is it was the Emperor who was most dazzled and that Bülow's verve makes him feel all the more keenly how much the speeches of his successor are lacking in this quality.

We've had the King of Bulgaria within our walls these last few days and a little incident happened in this connection which is not in the papers but which is very typical for those interested. The other night there was a big dinner at the Neues Palais at Potsdam in his honour. After the meal the King was chatting in a corner with some gentlemen. The Emperor passed behind him and in keeping with his unfortunate habit he gave him a little pat on his backside. The King turned round and let the Emperor know that he demanded an apology and what was more, an apology in front of those people who had witnessed the incident. The Emperor replied that he wouldn't apologise if the King couldn't understand a joke. Whereupon the furious King immediately left the Neues Palais.

I fear German policy in the Balkans may feel the repercussions of this little tap on the back.

### *Barrack Manners*

This is I'm afraid an old habit of his. All his aides-de-camp, even Bülow himself, have suffered in this way. I really cannot understand how it is the Emperor hasn't learnt that on the throne one can't retain the manners of a lieutenant in Barracks.

### *Chapter III*

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*Berlin, 7th January, 1910.*

THEIR Majesties, who came to Berlin for the New Year, remained here until to-day and they're going back to Potsdam for another eight or ten days. Neither the Emperor nor the Empress feels at home in their capital any longer. Besides, what does Berlin look like nowadays? An enormous town decorated in the worst possible taste and incredibly high houses. These are now only banks and hotels. Quite American without a Court or any royal carriages, only motor-cars which now and again announce by peculiar tunes that a Prince is in the street.

The little story I repeated to you the other day has had a deplorable effect because it's become widely known. "Light fingers—bad characters." This applies here. The same thing happened again with Prince Max of Baden, who didn't take the matter at all as a joke, and God knows where these manners will lead us.

*Berlin, 15th January, 1910.*

The French Ambassador is very busy in connection with an entertainment he wants to have for the Emperor on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition of French Art which is being arranged in Berlin for the 25th of this month.

### *The Little Princess—Constantinople*

It seems wonderful things are being sent from France including pictures and old tapestry. And in the evening the Ambassador will receive the Sovereigns and all the young Princes at the Embassy. In order to entertain them he has brought French Actors from the Theatre Français to act a play. There will be some Germans who won't be pleased if it's a success. . . .

*Berlin, 19th January, 1910.*

At the festival of the "Orders" there were fewer people than usual. The Emperor was looking well and I had the impression inwardly he was feeling more at ease and that the painful recollections of the past year had lost some of their intensity. His daughter took part for the first time at this particular festivity. . . .

The Conservatives are beginning to attack Bethmann Hollweg and Schoen. The latter is accused of having been too conciliatory with France over the Morocco business, and for not having sufficiently upheld German interests in the Bagdad Railway. These Germans may have qualities which I should be the last to deny them but really you would think they were only asking for war and that they were only happy squabbling. The Schoens have a holy horror of Berlin and would like to go to Paris, but the Radolins cling on there and wouldn't for the world leave the Embassy in the Rue de Lille.

*Berlin, 23rd-27th January, 1910.*

Everything seems to me to be in a muddle at Constantinople where the Young Turks aren't making any progress, and I am very doubtful whether they will be successful in their great enterprise. Re-action is making itself felt and I should not be astonished if the fire which has destroyed the

Parliament buildings there were not the work of dissatisfied hands.

We are in the midst of fireworks at this moment. The Exhibition of French Art has attracted a considerable number of Frenchmen to Berlin for the opening, including a deputation from the Ministry of Fine Arts with Bonnat at their head. All these people invaded my *salon* the whole day, and as the Emperor's birthday attracts a quantity of German Princes and Princesses to Berlin, I am continually on the go these days.

In spite of the fatigue I don't in the least regret yesterday because it was filled with interesting things to my taste, and which afforded me considerable pleasure.

At midday the Emperor and Empress opened the Exhibition. After a very bad speech in German by a Professor Kämpf, who got stuck in the middle and couldn't finish what he had to say, Seckendorf came to the rescue in French with all the assurance of a grand *seigneur*, and he spoke with tact and skill without hiding the cosmopolitan thought which inspired him. The whole assembly were charmed with the recollections he called to mind, and in the purest language as it used formerly to be spoken. The Emperor appeared radiant. He took an enormous interest in all he saw, gave orders and paid compliments, whereas the Empress scarcely looked at anything and appeared quite indifferent.

In the evening a great reception at the French Embassy. The actors from the Comedie Française did two plays, in the manner which only they know how in the classical French Theatre. There was also a little very good music. The Emperor amused himself like the King he is and I believe he will long remember this reception. . . . After his visit to the Exhibition he sent the Grand Cordon of the Red Eagle to the painter Bonnat and decorations to the members of the



### *The Emperor's Goodwill—Press Attacks*

Deputation from the Paris Academy of Fine Arts, also a pretty bronze to the Ambassador Cambon. If it were only left to the Emperor what good terms we should be on with France here! Why is there always somebody who interferes with his goodwill?

Bethmann Hollweg was at the opening of the Exhibition and in the evening at the Embassy. He was very calm, bearing no trace of worry as though he were unaware of the attacks which the German Press launch against him daily and with increasing vigour. Indeed, the Germans aren't making his task easy, not even those who brought about Bülow's fall. If he were to go I can't conceive whom they could put in his place. And this would be terrible for the Emperor. The latter appears much calmer than last year, but he hasn't got back his splendid self-confidence and is very altered.

*Berlin, 31st January, 1910.*

What is happening at Paris is a disaster, the extent of which can't be foreseen, for everything seems to hinder the prevention of this horrible scourge—it makes me tremble, and not only for my own relatives. It demonstrates a state of affairs which appears to be exceedingly serious.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor upon his birthday gave the Chancellor the Black Eagle. It's too soon because he hasn't accomplished anything transcendental as yet, but I see in this a sign that he doesn't displease his sovereign, and that the latter wanted to give him a little encouragement for the difficult task which he has assumed out of patriotism and loyalty.

The French who came for the Exhibition are all leaving to-night after twelve days' stay in Berlin, during which attentions were heaped upon them. They're all leaving

<sup>1</sup> The Paris floods

particularly pleased with the Emperor who wanted to fête them as is his wont. The day before yesterday he had the great ballet Sardanapale performed for them, and to which he came himself, having Cambon on his right and on his left the financier Jules Roche, who often writes articles in the *Figaro*.

The French had boxes which were offered them by the Court. Last night they all went to the Palace where the Emperor took leave of them. His marked politeness to them was, I think, to show that he was intending to go back on the aggressive Holstein-Bülow policy. But will he be followed in this by his public? The latter remain hostile to everything French, and the other day they all made a face at Seckendorf's nice speech. Isn't this absurd and proof to what pettiness of mind and heart they've descended in Berlin?

*Berlin, 8th February, 1910.*

Happily, I've good news from Paris. The water is going back, but very slowly.

The day before yesterday I dined with the Chancellor, who couldn't have been nicer and told me he knew that the Emperor felt affection for me.

Bethmann asked me if I didn't think the Emperor were better. I answered that I had noticed with pleasure he was looking much better this winter and his face no longer bore traces of the strain which had made so much impression on me last year, and I found him much calmer, while at the same time, more prudent in speech and heard less often. "You are right," replied the Chancellor, "the Emperor has managed to survive the dreadful crisis which had overtaken him, and he is gradually regaining his self-confidence which had almost disappeared. At first I didn't know whether I should manage to suit him because he mistrusted everything,

### *The Emperor's Confidence in Bethmann*

but gradually His Majesty has accustomed himself to me, and I can't tell you how touched I am by the confidence in me which he now exhibits."

I concluded from this conversation the Chancellor was satisfied and that he was agreed on all points with his august master. There's nothing brilliant about Bethmann, but he's a worthy man who sees only his duty, and the Emperor has had too many unfortunate experiences with Bülow, Holstein and Co., not to recognise the superiority of his present Chancellor. Bülow was a comedian in comparison, but an amusing one all the same. According to what you tell me, Marschall views Bethmann much as I do. The Bülow Party are getting smaller and the Emperor often makes the Empress feel she was completely lacking in judgment in supporting Bülow *vis-à-vis* himself, as she did a year ago. As for the Grand Duchess of Baden, she doesn't mention him any more.

*Berlin, 12th February, 1910.*

I imagine the Turks are not particularly pleased about the latest decisions taken by the Powers on the subject of Crete. They are only provisional and provisional things are worth nothing in my opinion. Here we are, having scenes in the Chamber because of the new electoral law about which the Liberal Party are very displeased. They're against Bethmann, who's not its author, but only the heir. None-the-less if I'd been in his place I would have introduced modifications because this law is quite stupid. It accords incredible rights to a class of people who indeed understand nothing of politics and who are solely submissive instruments in the hands of the Government. I am referring to a certain class of non-commissioned officers and people of that sort. They may be equalitarian in France, but in Germany they don't wish to hear it mentioned. As however, in spite of this, the

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*Crete—An Electoral Law*

Socialists are only increasing and most elections are going in their favour, I don't see the object of displeasing everybody and exasperating Socialists and Liberals who will only do us more harm later on.

Everyone seems satisfied with Bethmann now and it really would be silly if he were obliged to leave his post owing to a law got up by Bülow.

I've just been reading fresh papers on Kaspar Hauser<sup>1</sup>. . . . I got goose-flesh over this story, which reminds one of the tale of the Iron Mask and I shivered in saying to myself I knew the mother of this unhappy creature quite well in the person of the Grand Duchess Stephanie of Baden. It seems that it's the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia, himself a son of a Baden Princess, who's got all the papers, and he'll publish them some day or other. I believe it's out of feeling for the present old Grand Duchess this hasn't been done yet. It is certain there was more than one crime and that poison has been used on many occasions against several other princes of the staunch family of Zaehringen. And all this in the nineteenth century !

*Berlin, 16th February, 1910.*

There's no fear at present of any war between Turkey and Greece, and I believe the decidedly firm attitude of Turkey has something to do with it. It's a good thing she has made plain, not only to Greece, but also to the other Powers that she won't be trifled with when it's a question of Crete and that she's still in a position to claim by force of arms what they want to take away from her.

Here our electoral law is giving rise to a lot of wrangling. Bethmann should have revised Bülow's work before putting it in the hands of the Deputies. I fear it may have been the

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Kaspar Hauser" pp. 339-40.

### *Count Aerenthal*

Emperor who prevented him doing this because he has no experience of parliamentary business and only understands one thing, closing all parliaments with a military hand and begging all the good deputies to remain in the bosoms of their families. As such things can't be, he should act with greater prudence in these matters. All the police, armed with revolvers, paraded the streets last Sunday and troops were confined to barracks.

They are preparing for various diplomatic changes brought about by the resignation of Frau von Bülow's son-in-law at Brussels and Tattenbach's death at Madrid. They say also that Marschall will be leaving Constantinople, because he's seventy and would like to live in retirement. His wife in particular would like this.

*Berlin, 24th February, 1910.*

Last evening I dined at the Austrian Embassy with both Their Majesties and Aerenthal. I must say the latter made a bad impression on me. He is tall, very fat, and his face is that of someone devoid of scruples. I don't know whether others shared my sentiments, because everybody there was so excited. Here they're working as hard as they can for the Austro-Russian rapprochement, and it's probably this which accounts for the visit of the Austrian Chancellor to Berlin. Aerenthal's semitic origin is not difficult to trace from his appearance.

The Emperor wasn't looking well. One could see he had been ill and hadn't got over his cold. But he was cheerful and appeared pleased. His manner with Bethmann contrasts very much with his manner *vis-à-vis* Bülow. When he talks to his present Chancellor he is serious, and one can see he has a kind of respect for him. This struck me again last night, because both the Bethmanns were of the party.

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*Osten-Sacken*

*Berlin, 28th February, 1910.*

I have been quite a lot in the world this week, having taken part in several big dinners. I've already spoken to you about the one at the Austrian Embassy and of the impression Aerenthal made on me. It appears I'm not the only one to have got this, and that here in the Ministry people have been advised to beware of him. I think it's only the Emperor who hasn't seen anything, he's such a good chap and never notices in others what he doesn't feel himself. Above all he wants the Alliance with Austria and would make big sacrifices if they were necessary. It's his hobby. But I don't know whether the steps which he's taking in his efforts to bring Austria and Russia nearer together are getting on. Here the Russian Ambassador avoided meeting Aerenthal and the latter just tossed his card to Osten-Sacken who was however at home. In spite of all pressure exercised by Germany, Russia will never forgive Austria the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the way in which this was carried out.

*Berlin, 4th March, 1910.*

I'm very little up in politics. The Greeks appear very seedy; their royal family still more so. Heaven knows what the King of Bulgaria has been up to in St. Petersburg, whence he's been sending some darts to the Emperor William, whom he cannot forgive for his bad jokes. Iswolski and Aerenthal are once more at daggers drawn. These two men will never understand each other.

Seckendorf's death has been a blow to me. He was carried off after three days with inflammation of the lungs. I was dining with him five days before, and he was only sixty-eight.

## *A Curious Ceremony*

*Berlin, 16th March, 1910.*

Last Sunday we had a gathering in memory of Seckendorf. This produced an odd impression on me. It may be very artistic but hardly Christian. It took place in Frau Richter's drawing-rooms. We were fifty or sixty people. Three fine pictures which had been in Seckendorf's possession (magnificently painted by Rigaud) had been put in position with reflectors to light them up better. These were portraits of people with powdered hair. On the tables were all the snuff-boxes which Seckendorf had ever possessed. Between the portraits two enormous busts of the Emperor and Empress Frederic had been placed and surrounded by green plants. Behind a screen of greenery Robert Menoelssohn with his violin accompanied on the piano by his wife (a Gordigiani), playing a funeral dirge to which we all listened seated in profound silence. Suddenly Knesebeck got up and went to a sort of raised pulpit, from the top of which he preached a sermon quite well expressed, but rather too weepy. . . . Speaking of the Empress Frederic he said that the two of them were the complement of each other in their tastes and their appreciation of art. . . . In short, not one single Christian thought, not a word to make one believe that those who are loved on this earth find themselves in a better world, nothing which could give consolation to those who wept. . . . I had the feeling I was in the midst of unadulterated paganism. Only the cinder Urn and mourners round were lacking to complete the picture. I said to myself if Protestants haven't any other method of thinking of their dead they are much to be pitied.

Here politics don't seem to me to be particularly intelligent, electoral reform will be voted more or less as the Government desires. No-one's satisfied, neither the people nor

1910]

*Death of Edward VII*

those who vote in the Chamber. We shall have to come back to it and then it will be too late to do any good.

*Berlin, 24th March, 1910.*

The day before yesterday I lunched with the Emperor who told me he wasn't going to Corfu this year as all his ministers were against this. He didn't mention Bülow, but he gave me to understand that the latter might have found himself elsewhere than on the present Chancellor's path in Italy. Queen Margherita has telegraphed to the Emperor that the Duchess of Genoa got over her attack in spite of her eighty-one years, but this apoplectic fit just at the moment of Bethmann's arrival in Rome was a further complication.

*Karlsruhe, 30th March-Paris, 4th April, 1910.*

I got here Monday evening, and I was received with so much kindness by the Grand Duchess that gradually I'm beginning to feel the benefit of intellectual rest. This is removing the mental stress which has lately been leading me I don't know where.

My daughter, who is in Rome, writes that she has seen Bülow; that he's bored to death and that he's more of a comedian than ever. He appears to have been so with Bethmann, especially during the two visits they paid each other. They maintain he's carrying on every sort of intrigue to get back his position at Berlin. But I fancy he'll break himself entirely because the Sovereign has really taken a great dislike to him.

*Mankiewiczze, 17th May, 1910.*

I've only got old papers here, but in a letter from Berlin I find the following: "Here everyone is saying that King Edward's death came at the right moment, because whatever



### *King George V and German Relations*

he might have done he was certain to have lost a great deal of his popularity." It seems to me that in this funeral oration one feels how pleased the Germans are at the disappearance of this King whom they didn't at all like and above all feared. But I have the conviction relations between Germany and England with George V will be a thousand times more difficult than with King Edward.

*Mankiewiczze, 21st May, 1910.*

I have received this letter from Vienna and am giving you an extract as I think it might interest you. "Vienna, 17th May. The Archduke Franz is leaving to-morrow for London accompanied by Kinski and the Festetics for the King's funeral. He particularly wanted to bring his wife and put her up in London incognita at a small hotel. They had all the difficulty in the world in making him understand that this wasn't possible. The Emperor is at Pesth and towards the end of the month he is going to pay an official visit to Bosnia. It will be very tiring for a man of eighty. His circle are very alarmed but Aerenthal and the military party won't give up the plan. Yesterday the English pavilion at the Hunting Exhibition at Vienna was opened to the public. There are several trophies of poor King Edward, which he chose himself at Sandringham some days before his death."

It appears he managed to say good-bye to his friend, Mrs. Keppel, and that it was the Queen herself who had her sent for on the Friday. The King still made the effort that last day to get up from his bed to receive her. They say she is now going to establish herself in Florence so as to be far from the new Court.

You will have read in the *Temps* of the 12th an article on the progress of state socialism in Germany which may have given you some idea of the dangers which our Government

1910]      *Archduke Franz Ferdinand in London*

is foisting on us. It is really dreadful for those who are landed proprietors.

*Antoniny (Volhynia), 29th May, 1910.*

Now King Edward is buried and we shall see King George at work. In the newspapers they're making a great to do about this new King and I think they have great hopes of him, in view of the dangerous crisis which is disturbing England, but one doesn't quite know how to take him personally. I haven't as yet any details about the way things have been between William II and George V, but I would rather the former did not expose his own person to this test.

I have received the following letter from Vienna : "The Archduke has returned from London not at all satisfied with his reception and very displeased with Mensdorff (the Austrian Ambassador in London) because he prevented the arrival of the Duchess of Hohenberg. The Archduke wanted her to follow him and stay at a small hotel under the name of the Countess d'Este, where he would have joined her after the funeral. During the following days they would have been able to visit the Parks and antiquaries together. King George said on any other occasion he would be charmed to meet the Princess, but he could not agree to her coming on the quiet. They say now that King Edward isn't there to support him, Mensdorff won't stay in London much longer. Poor Khevenhüller is so run down after his second illness that it is believed he will be unable to return to his post in Paris. All this will bring about great changes in the Austrian Diplomatic Corps."

*Kleinitz, 5th June, 1910.*

It appears the Emperor of Austria is bearing his official journey to Bosnia with great fortitude. How the great ones of this world are susceptible to ovations ! This keeps them

*Crete—French Views on Edward VII*

going as though it were glory. Here the Emperor hasn't yet got over his indisposition, which has brought the Crown Prince very much to the fore. There were mighty demonstrations in Berlin in front of the Palace after the parade on Wednesday when I passed by in a carriage as I was going across to the other side of the Spree on an errand.

The story of Crete<sup>1</sup> seems daily to complicate itself further and I think the Protecting Powers are the most guilty. These have acted in the most scatterbrained way without a thought for the future and without foreseeing a single thing. They've done so well that at this moment they don't know how to get out of the affair. None of them acts disinterestedly. Bethmann has been obliged to withdraw his electoral law. What a lot of time wasted over a discussion which has come to nothing ! The Newspapers are very hard on Bethmann. The Emperor is represented as Diogenes with his lantern searching for another Chancellor. The presentation of a demand for an increase in the Civil List is also going to create a lot of bad blood. I hope that Bethmann will be able to stay at his post, but if this isn't the case what Chancellor shall we get ?

Everywhere in the reviews one finds incredible pæons of praise about King Edward. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* describes him as a very great King. Certainly he has governed with tact, prudence and great knowledge of humanity. But because of that to make him out such an exceptional and great King I find is a bit too much.

*Kleinitz, 13th June, 1910.*

The Pope's<sup>2</sup> Encyclical is producing a tempest throughout Germany. There is so much religious excitement as a

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Crete," pp. 379-81.

<sup>2</sup> See note on "Pius X and Germany," pp. 342-5.

1910]      *Pius X issues an Encyclical—Roosevelt*

result of the position which the Centre Party has achieved in politics in this country, that I'm not in the least surprised at the protests which are being raised. I find what the Pope says is quite true, but sometimes the truth is better left unspoken. Merry del Val ought to be more careful. Protestants are in a rage at having to submit to the supremacy of the Catholic Centre Party in Parliament. At every moment they're writing abusive things in their respective papers. The best thing is to answer nothing as our priests and the newspaper *Germania* are doing here. The Vatican would have done better to have done the same. The incident is said to be closed. Let us hope so. In any case the Protestants considered Bethmann's speech too feeble, and so the Chancellor is again being attacked.

I have read in the paper that Marschall has arrived in Berlin. This certainly won't be to replace Bethmann, but what a bad turn things are taking in Crete and Turkey! What does England want by upholding the Greeks? It all creates food for thought.

The Emperor is very fit again, but he's having trouble with the Minister for the Colonies from whom he's had to part. He was sticking too much to Bülow's system which the Emperor can't bear any longer.

I think that Roosevelt has got on everybody's nerves on his great trip, and his lack of tact has become proverbial. It is time he went home.

*Kleinitz, 17th June, 1910.*

They haven't succeeded in calming themselves in Germany about the Encyclical. The Protestants are profiting by this to fall upon the Pope and our Church and upon everything else which doesn't suit them and makes them burn with jealousy over our united front. The Protestants see in

### *The Crown Prince Incurs Paternal Wrath*

this a force which they are unable to destroy. I'm more and more convinced the Encyclical was a pretext for our discomfiture. Nevertheless the Pope can't go back on it. "Los von Rom"—"Freedom from Rome" is heard on all sides, and in Austria even more than here.

Pichon would like a Conference to discuss the fate of Crete. It's rather late in the day. I suppose that Germany and Austria who withdrew ten years ago are now on the look out for the moment when they can intervene and snatch something from the débris.

The Crown Prince, who is in Berlin, didn't attend the Ratibor wedding. The papers said he was suffering from toothache and a swollen face which kept him at home. This was all nonsense. The truth of the matter is the Prince was under arrest for neglecting to attend the Centenary Celebrations for Queen Louise, because these bored him, and the Emperor wished to punish the disobedience of his son, who's altogether too fond of his own convenience. This sort of thing has never been seen in Prussia until now, the Royal Family always having set an example of duty.

I give you an extract from a former Minister of Brunswick in Berlin with whom I'm often in correspondence, as he's busy with a German translation of the Chronicles of the duchesse de Dino. Here is what he says (although he is a Protestant).

"The agitation caused by the latest Encyclical throughout Germany is very much to be regretted. The Liberals will make use of this for the elections in order to discredit the Centre and Conservative Party. Reading the papers you would think we were on the verge of a revolution, but I'm hoping that Bethmann will keep firm and retain the Emperor's confidence."

I've read the article on the Balkans in the *Revue des Deux*

1910]      *A Diplomatic Shuffle—Kiderlen Waechter*

*Mondes.* The situation is very clearly exposed, but I don't believe we're near a solution. Too many intrigues and ambitions are involved, and the man who ought to carve out what is still in suspense doesn't as yet appear to me to have come out of "Limbo." I must say I find it abominable the way Turkey is being cut up to satisfy unhealthy ambitions. What they are putting in place of the Turks is certainly no better, and if one day we find the Russians at Constantinople what a danger this will be for the rest of Europe !

*Kleinitz, 3rd July, 1910.*

You will have learnt from the papers about ministerial shuffles which are taking place at Berlin again and they say it's not the end yet. Schoen replaces Radolin at Paris. It's a good choice, he's got a Belgian wife, and they're very nice people who don't at all care for Berlin circles. Radolin's fall was decided without his suspecting anything and very much against his wishes. The second he knew they were wanting him to retire he rushed back to Berlin to stave off the blow, but it was too late. He must be very put out because he hasn't the least desire to look after his estates and plant cabbages. Kiderlen, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, is a man who doesn't lack intelligence but he's a diplomat of the Holstein School, abrupt, gross and not at all conciliatory. A type which is more welcome in this country than Schoen's. We shall see what they are preparing for us.

*Kleinitz, 19th July, 1910.*

It appears that Bülow has been spending twenty-four hours in Berlin where he had a couple of hours' interview with Bethmann. He was wise to come to Berlin while the Emperor was away. He doesn't in the least suspect how much the Emperor has got him summed up, and how much he

### *The Emperor's Health*

dislikes him. Frau von Bülow always believes she will retrieve the situation through the Empress, and it's in that quarter that she is working underground. She's managed things so well that the Empress has quite lost credit with her Imperial spouse and she has been forbidden to discuss politics with him, or even anything approaching. All of which is not having a very good effect on the Imperial household. We have had a pretty clear proof of this recently when the Empress lost her sister. Without the smallest embarrassment the Emperor went off to Kiel where he presided at all the festivities of this joyful week without paying the least attention either to the funeral of his sister-in-law or his wife's grief. None the less he doesn't lack heart and he is very kind.

It seems to me things are quieter in Crete. If it were not for the Greeks matters would have been settled long ago.

It's come to my ears that the Emperor's health is still causing anxiety both to his doctors and his circle. And the Grand Duchess of Baden is always delicate, she can scarcely leave her chaise-longue.

*Kleinitz, 27th July, 1910.*

You will have read in the newspapers correspondence about the festivities at Cracow on the occasion of the fifth Centenary of the battle of Grünewald when the Poles defeated the Teutons in 1410. From Berlin they requested Vienna not to allow these festivities, but they replied that it was not possible to forbid them. Here is what Betka writes about it.

"Have you read the description of the Cracow Festivities? They were very afraid of anti-Prussian demonstrations but everything went off very quietly and with dignity. People who were present say the impression was imposing and unforgettable. At the moment when Jagellon's monument

was unveiled bugles sounded the old Polish calls from the top of the towers of the Church of Notre-Dame and an enormous crowd with heads uncovered intoned the Hymn always sung by the Polish army upon going into battle. The speeches of Badeni and Padarewski at the monument were very good. They said that it was not the hatred of neighbours but love of country which the monument represented and it's to be hoped this moderation and bearing may prevent any possible repercussions in Germany."

*Kleinitz, 8th-12th August, 1910.*

The Emperor has returned from his sea trip and is going with his family to spend a few weeks at Wilhelmshöhe. I implore you to read the article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by Goyau on Bismarck and the Papacy. It is a very faithful portrait which depicts extremely well that very harassed period which held little to Bismarck's credit. One cannot understand how a man of his worth could fall into such error involving his Sovereign who was opposed to it from the bottom of his heart but who allowed himself to be influenced by his minister.

I haven't been able to discover what Bülow and Bethmann said to each other during their interview. I have been told everything passed between them in the strictest privacy, and that both speakers have maintained the most complete silence about their conversation. Consequently nothing is known about it.

In the same letter I'm also told that chilliness has supervened in the warm friendship which bound the Emperor and Prince Fürstenburg. That Bethmann is all-powerful . . . and people think he will have to govern with all parties . . . that Kiderlen is equally displeasing to the Empress and the Emperor, but that the latter will be obliged to submit



*A Royal Castle at Posen—A Tactless Speech*

to him because there's absolutely nobody else in the whole of Germany who could be substituted for him to conduct Foreign Affairs.

What do you say to this lack of man-power which is making itself felt in a country which once had so many men and such great ones. It's extraordinary.

*Berlin, 20th August, 1910.*

To-day the Emperor is at Posen to open a royal castle which he's had built in the middle of the town and which has cost six millions. It's a monstrosity, a pile of stones devoid of any semblance of architecture with an immense tower. It's what one might describe as appalling style. Only Germans, inhabitants of the Grand Duchy, were invited, not a single Pole. The effect won't be happy and the morale of the population will suffer thereby.

*Kleinitz, 24th-28th August, 1910.*

. . . Both the Emperor's speeches were lacking in tact but he would have said much more if they hadn't stopped him. For instance it would have been better to have said "my province" and not "this German province." The Poles are Prussian subjects, but not being of German stock they are extremely sensitive to these nuances. The way they are spoken of in our lofty spheres these days hurts their feelings.

The papers are full of bad news about Cholera. From Russia where it's been raging for three years it has gone to Austria and now it's in Vienna.

At Paris there's an epidemic of fleas, an aftermath of the floods which disturbed the rats living in the sewers. They don't know what to do about these horrid little beasts the number of which is incredible, and they display an amazing resistance to every kind of effort to destroy them.

1910]      "*God's Anointed*" and the Socialists

The Emperor William is multiplying his speeches these days. At Königsberg he described himself as anointed of God and you can't imagine what a row this is exciting in the Liberal papers. Last night the *Tageblatt* had three whole pages about it and on the effect which this speech is producing in all the countries of Europe.

The Poles were so afraid the Emperor's words at Posen might be worse that they are quite pleased over his last speech. The Emperor of Austria celebrated his eighty years with great splendour at Ischl. All the Archdukes were there and the Princess of Hohenberg appeared for the first time accompanying her husband officially. She occupied the most important place in church and the last at table, which no-one could understand.

*Kleinitz, 1st September, 1910.*

Yesterday I went a three hours' journey to pay a visit to Henri Carolath. I was very glad to be able to talk to the Prince about the Königsberg speech which was such a terrible bloomer.

The Prince like me was quite ill about it. The Socialist Party which is increasing in Germany every day will be considerably strengthened by this speech which is grist for their mill and which has annoyed all parties, Conservative as well as Liberal. Carolath said that Bethmann is in a difficult position because the Emperor had not told him what he was intending to do or say. The Sovereign spoke behind his back. Bethmann was at Posen and from there had gone to the country for a rest. Instead of a rest he had the speech for which he is naturally held responsible. He put a clumsy statement in the *Nord-Deutsche*, and the Emperor, who may have grasped that he'd made a bloomer if he had read what the newspapers said about it, tried to go back on his words

*Boni Hatzfeldt—Pius X and First Communion*

at Königsberg by giving them a new meaning in another speech at Danzig. But his popularity will not increase, very much the contrary.

Once the evil has been done it's difficult to put right. Meanwhile the Monarch's prestige is in eclipse. It's maddening to see monarchical principles upset by the Monarchs themselves as they're not hesitating to do one after the other.

*Kleinitz, 5th-9th September, 1910.*

My cousin Boni Hatzfeldt arrived this morning. He maintains the Freemasons are pursuing the Emperor with fury because he isn't one himself, and it's because of this that there has been such a press campaign against his last speech.

At the next meeting of Parliament there will be six more Socialists than when the deputies went on holiday because at by-elections this summer only Socialists were elected.

The King of Bulgaria is greatly bestirring himself and his incessant activity is causing considerable anxiety amongst his subjects. This is disturbing to that calm which is so necessary at the present juncture.

The Cretans are not being supported by the Powers, and the Greeks aren't keeping at all quiet. The world is as uncomfortable as it's unhealthy, and nothing in the least reassuring presents itself to my eyes.

*Kleinitz, 13th-17th September, 1910.*

The Pope's new rule in connection with the First Communion is rather extraordinary.<sup>1</sup> The Holy Father must have his reasons but I can understand neither the rhyme nor reason. In France they're furious. Already they didn't love the present Pope in religious circles where they accuse him of being responsible by his clumsiness for the ills from which

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Pius X and Germany," pp. 342-5.

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*The Radolins Leave Paris—Nelidow*

they've been suffering for some years. This rule by altering certain habits to which people cling fast is likely, so they say, to increase discontent among the Catholics.

Also in Bavaria a speech of Prince Louis, the eldest son of the Regent, is responsible for a considerable flow of ink. It isn't wise to tell the whole truth and Princes would do better not to speak in public. They haven't a chance when they're clumsy and they do the utmost harm to the monarchical principle.

It appears the marriage of Prince Victor Napoleon with Princess Clementine of Belgium is to take place shortly.

Radolin is saying tender farewells in Paris, but these are not looked upon favourably in Berlin. In an unfortunate speech he almost accused the Chancellor of being responsible for his recall and the Emperor was so annoyed about his language that he let Radolin know this. Nelidow is dying at Paris and Russian diplomacy is agitated because the post will become vacant. They also would like to remove Osten-Sacken who's getting old from Berlin but I hope they'll still leave him with us.

*Kleinitz, 21st September, 1910.*

You will have heard that the Archbishop of Paris asked Cardinal Merry del Val if he might be allowed to submit criticisms of his recent decree to the Pope. The Cardinal answered "yes" and so the French Episcopacy are going to address themselves direct to His Holiness regarding the business of the First Communion, while each bishop has given orders in his diocese that everything is to go on as before for the time being. I'm convinced that this matter will be difficult to settle. The great thing is to maintain as much religious feeling as possible in the masses, who are persons of habit by nature.

### *A Frivolous Speech at Vienna*

They are talking a lot about a Turkish-Rumanian Alliance against Bulgaria. I will admit such a thing wouldn't displease me if it came about. Prince Ferdinand who is so pushing and who is constantly intriguing against somebody or other for the sole object of satisfying personal ambition profoundly displeases me. He certainly has wit and intelligence, but he isn't at all sympathetic.

Yesterday there was great festivity at Karlsruhe for the Silver Wedding of the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden.

*Kleinitz, 25th September, 1910.*

I had a visit yesterday from the Carolaths and the Prince told me Parliament ought to re-assemble in mid-November but that this would probably be postponed as Bethmann was afraid of the new Session. The Prince was very put out over the Emperor's latest speech at Vienna. From the political point of view his speech said absolutely nothing, but one must admit his phrases about the pretty Viennese girls were in very bad taste coming from Imperial lips and he would have done better to have passed the charms of these ladies over in silence. The Socialist papers say nothing improves their chances better than William II's speeches, and the more he talks about "Divine Right" the more loudly will they cry "Long live the Republic."

The papers are already preparing the public about the Government's need for new taxes, those which were voted eighteen months ago proving totally inadequate for all the military and naval expenditure which the Government are demanding. All these matters are going to give us a very active winter. When the finances of a State get into disorder everything goes wrong. People have been stupid and have wanted to go too quickly and will have to pay dearly for it.

I knew Prussia when she was simpler, more modest, poorer, and that suited her much better than all I see going on now. People are also complaining very much about the rise in the price of meat, and are demanding that customs barriers should be removed, because with excessive protection people won't know how to feed themselves any longer.

*Kleinitz, 3rd October, 1910.*

There has been very serious trouble at Berlin due to the strikers who inhabit the Moabit quarter. Shops have been set alight, people seriously wounded and several are likely to die. This disturbance might well be the fore-runner of the big revolution which awaits us. This is inevitable in my eyes and within a shorter time than most people realise.

As for the Emperor, he notices nothing, still never wants to read anything, and will certainly go on making unfortunate speeches which only accelerate the danger.

You will have read the letter of the Bishop of Nice addressed to his Archbishop which owing to some inconceivable indiscretion got published in the newspapers. This letter is the channel as it were for the French bishops who were saying exactly the same thing amongst themselves quietly but whose letters have not fallen into indiscreet hands. The French Episcopate maintain their contrary opinion about the pontifical Decree in connection with the First Communion.

I know Monsignor Chapon very well. He was one of the chief assistant priests to Monsignor Dupanloup. He was a friend of my mother and often came to Rochecotte. He is in bad odour at the Vatican with the coterie who are very powerful at present there.

Furthermore everything's going wrong everywhere. Now isn't it the Cardinal of Breslau who wants to purge the Centre Party by excluding liberal and democratic members which

### *Berlin Riots—Revolution in Portugal*

would destroy its strength : The Cardinal is writing letters and making a good deal of noise in the papers on this subject. I consider this very unwise.

They were very severe at Berlin in repressing the disturbances which lasted four nights running. The number of wounded is considerable and this is all only a beginning and I venture to predict we shall see many more. Spring will bring fresh elections and God knows what as well. They've been so clumsy that they've ended by annoying everybody, the Conservative as well as the forward Parties. And between ourselves, they're only getting what they deserve. Bülow is certainly one of the most culpable in this thing. He was a diplomat not a statesman. And he always believed he could get out of things by petty manœuvres. He guided the Throne with these methods on to the fatal slope down which we are watching it slip. The reign of the present Emperor will be a sad page in history. I am deeply distressed for him because his qualities and his real desire to do good deserve something better. He mounted the throne too young and insufficiently prepared to carry out the tasks imposed on him. I am quite certain at this moment he doesn't realise the seriousness of all that's been happening in Berlin and is going on shooting without even troubling to read the papers which are discussing it.

*Kleinitz, 11th October, 1910.*

The revolution in Portugal is terribly sad. This poor Royal Family seem to me to have had to say good-bye to their country for good. The unlucky King Manuel will increase the list of Kings in exile. All the Powers appear to have expressed appropriate sentiments in these circumstances except Germany where the papers are using language which infuriates me. The *Post*, the Conservatives' journal

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*French Riots—Briand and Millerand*

in Berlin, declares without the slightest shame that one should profit by events to snatch the Portuguese colonies. To trample on misfortune as they're doing at the moment is really loathsome !

*Kleinitz, 19th October, 1910.*

King Manuel must be suffering from the effects of all the emotions he has been through and his stay at Gibraltar was anything but quiet. I don't see what Portugal is going to get out of this republic where the individual's safety is none too secure.

These assassinations of priests and other religious people, this persecution of the clergy and the monks, are not likely to attract much sympathy. Nevertheless the wind is blowing republican in Europe and the King of Spain can't be sleeping any too quietly. He's near the seat of infection and very exposed.

Nor does the French Republic put misgivings in the shade. Look at what has just been happening in France with this railway strike and everything ! The Government has been very energetic and has put all the ringleaders under lock and key. But what an irony of fate to see Briand and Millerand who as deputies fomented strikes and disturbances now being obliged in their capacity of Ministers to repress them with an energy which no Conservative or even Liberal would have dared to apply !

The newspapers have brought me the two speeches made by the Emperor for the Centenary of the University. These were as they should have been without any political allusions. Bethmann must have seen to this. Now every time the Emperor speaks all the world trembles.

All that has happened in Portugal makes people shudder. It would appear doubtful whether even three or four servants



### *A Turkish Loan*

of the Royal Family remained faithful. Queen Maria Pia has fortunately arrived in Italy, but what a sad life she will lead shut up at Montcalieri without any money and with her very pious sister ! The Queen was rather a spendthrift and she is not at all fitted for almost a convent existence.

*Kleinitz, 25th October, 1910.*

It would seem from what I hear from Berlin that Germany has been plotting quite an intrigue to take away from France the benefit of the Turkish loan. Germany wants to be successful but is it correct to play a game of this sort with France, which was already so far advanced in negotiations, and snatch these advantages from her in such a brutal way and put herself in her place ?

At Brussels the reception given the Emperor was very nice. Unfortunately he spoilt it all by making his speech in German. Even the Vienna papers are blaming him. At Berlin they're absolutely determined to replace French by German as the international language. They've got it in their heads to impose it on the entire world and it's an incredible stupidity. In the first place French has a precision unequalled by any other language—German less than all the others. . . . Then why change a custom dating from the Peace of Münster and the Thirty Years War ? At the Congress of Vienna French was decreed the official language for diplomacy. One would have to have a congress of all the Powers united together to alter this state of affairs.

*Berlin, 13th November, 1910.*

What d'you think of Briand's victory in Paris ? One could say a lot about him but he's shown himself quite capable of governing and perhaps those who've been converted like him know how to display more zeal than the others.

There are still only a few people in Berlin but these few have made haste to come to my house and all my evening parties have been full. This seems strange after the quiet of Kleinitz and it's an effort for me to take up the habit of talking again. And what's more all I hear is not at all consoling. Bethmann is so taken up by the internal administration of the Empire that he's becoming more and more detached from foreign affairs which he leaves entirely to Kiderlen, which is tiresome. It isn't a good thing for a Chancellor to neglect these matters ; in contrast they say that the Emperor personally busies himself too much with them and people look upon this Sovereign more and more as a great big Baby. You hear a crowd of people who consider him childish and who say so without any mitigation.

Cambon doesn't seem to me satisfied with Briand. He says he isn't a reliable person and that he hasn't confidence in the future which he's preparing for France. One could say the same about many other people, because it's lack of confidence in all governments which characterises the present moment in Europe. Cambon told me that the Turks were making a mistake in having financial affairs with the Germans rather than with the French who offered them greater facilities. He also complained about Bompard's inadequacy. According to this evening's paper they are in fact thinking of replacing the latter at Constantinople by Delcassé. The Government here won't listen to Marschall who will be ready enough to return home to his part of the world near Freiburg. That's the man Germany needs in the East to do her business for her and Wangenheim will be well obliged to wait.

Tolstoi's flight forms the subject of numerous newspaper articles. In my eyes this is only one more folly to add to all the other eccentricities of this man of genius who has

*Tolstoi—Princess Victoria Luise of Prussia*

never had any of my sympathies. His wife's fainting fits complete the comedy which is being played before our eyes.

The world is in fact nothing but a great comedy and I see it more every day. Nothing is taken seriously any longer, everything is for the gallery, and the outcome is great discouragement and intense disgust. Only genuine attachments remain and support us in the general confusion.

*Berlin, 21st November, 1910.*

Tolstoi is dead and the papers are filled with his life and works. . . . Here they are talking only about the Czar's last visit to Potsdam when the latter gave very beautiful presents to several members of the Court and appointed the Empress Colonel of a Russian regiment. This gave her excessive pleasure and I don't understand it. It all means nothing in any case and Germany's political situation will gain nothing on the banks of the Neva, because they feel only hatred there for Germany.

At Court they would like the daughter of our Emperor to become engaged to the son of the Archduke Otto who will be the Heir after Franz-Ferdinand. But in Austria they don't want a Protestant on the throne and the Empress declares that her daughter will never change her religion. This marriage is thus impossible, but at our Court they have no notion of anything.

*Berlin, 25th November, 1910.*

I see my usual world every evening. People are distinctly annoyed about questions which have been put in Parliament about the Emperor's speeches at Königsberg and at Beroun ; Bethmann, according to what his wife said to me the other day, doesn't know how to reply on such a delicate subject. I've had a letter this morning from my daughter in which

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*A Socialist's Prognostications*

she tells me that last week at the Fürstenburgs there were several Austrian guests when the Emperor was there. They said His Majesty was more excitable than ever and that he delivered political speeches in front of the whole room daily from tea-time till seven.

I believe this nervousness is due to the fact that he, like all of us, is feeling how badly everything is going. He doesn't know what to do to put things right and he fears the future. By talking he imagines he will persuade other people by his ideas which are in some ways very good but which only produce the opposite effect of what he hopes because people laugh at them.

The crisis which is attacking England is of exceptional gravity. The decline of the House of Lords is a misfortune and it is very disturbing. Here they are very shocked at Court that King George hasn't yet suggested a visit whereas he has announced his forthcoming visit to India. King George doesn't like Germany and I fancy he will try if he can to avoid the journey to Berlin.

*Berlin, 29th November, 1910.*

We have had a session in Parliament which has relieved us of great anxiety and in which the Chancellor has shown himself really capable and he defended the Emperor with great skill. Nevertheless never has such arrogant language been heard here; a deputy declared very loud that the spirit of the day must conquer even though the Emperor condemn it. The Republic would come to pass in Germany as in other countries, and even though the world be peopled with devils their aim would be achieved. Bethmann replied to this deputy that his party had never spoken in such a frank manner and he was very glad about it because now he knew what aims they had in view and this would enable him to

*A Serious-minded Chancellor*

combat these all the better. The socialist was thus caught in his own net, but the fact remains. And on the first occasion this party will resume all its audacity. We're only at the beginning yet and the socialists in Prussia on their first trials. But progress won't be delayed.

*Berlin, 17th December, 1910.*

Parliament has risen for the Christmas holidays after having voted our budget in far too great haste. You'll have been able to read in the papers several of Bethmann's speeches. All his words were excellent, although not possessing that eloquence which transports the masses, and people are beginning to appreciate him more. He is by far the most honest and the most serious Chancellor we have had since Caprivi. In one of his speeches he said that he didn't want exceptional laws. The effect of his words was excellent in the ranks of the Liberals, the Catholics, the Alsatians and the Poles. Up till the present it has always been the opposite and Bülow has much to answer for in this connection.

*Berlin, 23rd December, 1910.*

You will have read all that's been happening between Prince Max of Saxony and the Vatican. I believe the Prince is a very pious and zealous man with the best intentions in the world but he's not very intelligent and he's mixed himself up in a very serious question without having sounded the Vatican in advance. The present Pope is very intransigent and the Prince has at least been lacking in tact towards him. In France they are trying to solve the question of the First Communion and the Clergy are making arrangements to put right a decree which according to them would produce results the opposite of those desired by the Pope.

It appears here that a certain clique with Count Botho

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*Bethmann's Lack of Self-Confidence*

Eulenburg at their head are once more pressing the Government to put the Expropriation law against the Poles into execution. Bethmann would allow it because he doesn't attach much importance to this question, but it seems that the Emperor is personally opposing it with all his strength. This is a good mark for the Emperor . . . and I got this from a very reliable source.

*Berlin, 31st December, 1910.*

To-morrow I shall see both Their Majesties and perhaps I will learn something. Bethmann is always filled with tact in his relations with his master, but he's completely lacking in any confidence in himself which is a great pity, because this gives him the appearance of the Knight of the sorrowful countenance. The newspapers attack him continually and this is also a reason for discouragement for him. He is very unhappy about it. The affair of the Prince of Saxony is exploited by the German press who are delighted at being able to come down on a Catholic prince. However all that must come to an end because the Prince has entirely yielded to Rome and has made his peace with the Pope. Pius X ought however to be more prudent and take into account that Catholics have a very delicate position in Protestant countries and that there are certain things which it is as well to treat with caution if one is to avoid misunderstandings.

*Berlin, 4th January, 1911.*

LERCHENFELD <sup>1</sup> whom I saw last evening is very grieved about all that's happening. He says the oath against modernism demanded from the priests is spreading appalling disorder amongst the Bavarian clergy, and that the decree in connection with the "First Communion" is very much regretted there.<sup>2</sup> Lerchenfeld expresses himself satisfied with Bethmann. He maintains the Chancellor busies himself with foreign affairs more than people think and that he is certainly the only man we could now have as Chancellor. He added however that the elections would go badly in spite of all his efforts. There's far too much discontent everywhere on account of the taxes.

The Sovereigns won't take up their residence in Berlin until the 15th. They don't seem very pleased about the Crown Prince's journey, particularly of the way in which the Prince is amusing himself instead of studying the countries he's going through and profiting thereby for the future. And the public aren't satisfied either.

*Berlin, 12th January, 1911.*

Here we're none too brilliant. The Emperor's speech from the throne which was read by Bethmann was considered very

<sup>1</sup> The Bavarian Minister accredited to Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> See note on "Pius X and Germany," pp. 342-5.

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*Hübertustock—Lerchenfeld*

colourless. One can see quite plainly in view of the elections that the Government doesn't want to raise any questions. In announcing that the railways had brought in more, he substantiated that finances were improving.

The press isn't mollified by all these fine words, criticisms are on everyone's lips, and the Emperor who is in a very bad temper has gone off to Hübertustock where he's shut himself up alone for a week, which is always a bad sign.

*Berlin, 16th January, 1911.*

People say that the Emperor is already wanting to go to Corfu in the beginning of March. In the meanwhile he has returned with the Empress to his capital where they're intending to give some parties for their daughter. At Hübertustock the Emperor rested his nerves somewhat in the solitude of the forests, and directly upon his return, to the great astonishment of all the world he suddenly announced himself for dinner with Lerchenfeld. You know that for twenty years the Emperor hasn't spoken to him and even pretended not to see him. Lerchenfeld was presumed to be disliked by the Emperor without anyone knowing quite why. I don't know what can have produced this sudden change in his outlook but it is obvious this dinner announcement must have some special significance.

I gave a little dinner last night. The French Ambassador was there. Cambon believes the Lerchenfeld affair has some connection with Alsace-Lorraine, which Prussia would like to annex for herself, but the Federal States especially Bavaria and Würtemberg are very much opposed to this plan, maintaining that their armies contributed to this conquest quite as much as the Prussian and that Alsace-Lorraine should remain part of the Empire.



### *Portugal—The Bagdad Railway*

According to Cambon the Emperor's courtesy to Lerchenfeld was due to his desire to come to an understanding with Bavaria on this question so as gradually to bring in the other southern States. I don't know whether Cambon is right but it's quite possible.

I've received a letter which is very interesting from a former Portuguese Minister here. Here is the chief passage :

"The Portuguese crisis is a moral one, an outcome of the lack of a sense of honour and of the mean-spirited egoism of our time. This crisis is more acute with us than with others. We have a republic of Free-Masons which is connected with Free-Masonry everywhere and is inspired by socialistic theories so that the danger we are running reaches beyond our frontiers. The Great Powers may believe themselves forced to safeguard their interests in Portugal in their own way, but they will go to their ruin if they consider only the immediate and material aspect of their ambitions. The King, so good, so sympathetic, and so anxious to govern his country well, has been the victim of the ambitions and hatred of the politicians. His Majesty never succeeded in having a good ministry. Queen Amelia never carried out a sound policy either before or after the assassination. One must respect her sentiments as a mother, but her rôle as Queen (and she enjoyed such a great influence over her son) has been unfortunate. However, people are waking up and in their hearts they are still monarchists."

You will have read in the Papers the speeches of Pichon and Jaurés, and the statement which Marschall has been instructed to make to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople on the subject of the Bagdad Railway. Pray God that people will keep quiet now.

*Berlin, 1st-15th February, 1911.*

It appears the Crown Prince has been recalled and that he won't continue with his tour. This is a pity because of all the preparations which had been made in those foreign lands for his reception. The plague has been made a pretext, but I don't believe this was the real reason. . . .

Last Sunday at a musical *matinée* where there were several people I came across Count and Countess Monts who had themselves introduced to me. He seemed to me most extraordinary. In speaking of his last post at Rome he could only talk disparagingly of the Eternal City, and said he couldn't endure it. I couldn't help myself saying that I lamented his inability to taste her charm.

You will have read all our debates in connection with the autonomy of Alsace-Lorraine.<sup>1</sup> The matter is now in the hands of a parliamentary committee, but I don't believe the Alsatians will get anything. They know very well here that they have remained very attached to France and they're afraid of what might happen if further liberty were given to this country of the Empire.

How is it that the Government doesn't see how bad its methods have been, how these have hindered any reconciliation and that it is essential to pursue another path if it wishes to secure this province's sympathy. Bethmann's speech was feeble. One can feel his hesitation as he speaks and this is why he gains no-one's confidence. It's a pity.

The other evening at the Emperor's birthday reception, the latter only spoke to the Turkish Ambassador and the wives of the others. This was particularly noticed and Cambon came here last evening to tell me about it.

At Paris Pichon is still shaky and Briand isn't very safe.

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Alsace-Lorraine," pp. 345-7.

*Delcassé—Emperor and Crown Prince*

At the French Embassy they are very worried over the state of affairs in the cabinet.

*Berlin, 8th March, 1911.*

Here they're very displeased at seeing Delcassé taking part in the new French Ministry. The German newspapers are talking and raving about this as though it were their own business. Here we have far too much passion for meddling in the internal affairs of other countries. They are absolutely determined to preponderate in everything and to rule Europe. This is a very dangerous game. They are already so detested by everybody this way of going on can only worsen relations with other people.

At Berlin they were very surprised a couple of days ago by the news that from the first of October the Crown Prince will be given a regiment at Langenführ near Danzig. The Emperor himself announced this appointment during a lunch he was attending at the Union Club, and he added the Prince would find a telegram announcing this the day he arrives at Cairo. This will be a terrible disappointment for the Prince and Princess. Relations between father and son are very painful and such that it will seem an out and out disgrace. The impression created is unfortunate and people could talk of nothing else last night in my drawing-room.

I have received a letter from England which conveys a most interesting description of the changes brought about by the new reign. Here is a passage :

"Last Thursday I was dining with Lord Farquhar with the King and Queen. It was their first appearance in the world since the mourning and since they came to the throne. There were twenty-four people at dinner, everyone in black, a Court totally different from that of King Edward, far more etiquette and less taking things easy. The King has the

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appearance of being tired and I found him more amiable than when he was Prince of Wales. . . . The Queen a little stiff—I think from shyness. She appears to be an excellent mother of a family and she also takes an interest in works of art and particularly in books. She's busy now arranging the library at Windsor. Briefly, it seems that England won't lose by having a Court which is rather more rigid, and I am struck by the fact that King Edward appears to have left so few regrets and how much he had offended nice people by his preference for Jews."

*Berlin, 13th March, 1911.*

We've had a speech from Bethmann on the subject of the oath of the anti-modernists. The Chancellor believed it his duty to humour the Centre on account of the elections, but once these are over will he retain his moderation? He is always hesitant and the result is that his ministry is becoming more and more feeble. They want to raise our income tax a hundred per cent, and the Berlin authorities are disputing with the Government over it, as they don't want to adopt this new measure. To-day is the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of the Prince Regent of Bavaria and on this occasion Lerchenfeld has been covered with honours. His Regent has presented him with the St. Hubert, and the Emperor the Black Eagle.

*Berlin, 17th-21st March, 1911.*

Here people are still occupied with Alsace-Lorraine. In keeping this thorny question alive they are only achieving discord and upsetting everybody. Wishing to make changes they have re-awakened all the old hatred of Alsace for Prussia, and they have succeeded in making the Federal Princes understand that Prussia has altogether too great a preponderance in

### *The Court Leaves Berlin*

the Federal Council. Speeches which are multiplying themselves in Parliament all bear traces of the discontent which is raging throughout the country, and of the bad temper of the Federal Princes. In the midst of all this hurly-burly the Emperor can't keep still. He's going off to Vienna to pay a visit to the Emperor of Austria, who they say is tired of so much eagerness. Then he's going to embark at Venice where we hear your King will come to shake hands before the Emperor leaves for Corfu.

The Crown Prince and Princess are going immediately afterwards to pay official visits to Rome and Vienna. People are asking which lady-in-waiting will accompany the Princess because she has sent back all her suite and has only one quite insignificant young lady with her. All this displeases people and all round me I hear murmurs that the Emperor isn't doing the right thing by his son in giving him command of this Hussar regiment in a little village near Danzig where there isn't even a convenient house where they can put up.

Berlin is beginning to empty and already people are paying farewell visits. The Court are leaving the Schloss and tomorrow Their Majesties are going to Kiel. This morning to my great surprise the Empress and her daughter turned up here to take leave of me and say good-bye. It was a very delicate attention for which I am very grateful. They remained nearly an hour and the Empress was charming. She hasn't the appearance of being any too pleased about all these journeys which await her. She says she's tired and would rather remain some time perfectly quiet.

*Berlin, 25th March, 1911.*

Our Majesties are already in Vienna leaving all behind them rather in disorder. The Chancellor is crushed by his burden and by the disgust which he is feeling more and more.

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*Stolypine—Corfu*

The Ministers his colleagues, like him, are very honest people, but insignificant personalities who aren't of the least support. The Emperor is convinced that all's for the best in the best of all possible worlds and even the deficit in finances doesn't seem to worry him. And his own personal estate can't be much better off. I think the Empress must have her doubts. She has aged a lot, appears sad, is so despondent, and she went off to Corfu against her wishes. She doesn't care about this visit. All the Emperor's suite are of her opinion, so that everyone set off with regret at heart.

In Europe there are nothing but ministerial crises. That at St. Petersburg is both mysterious and complicated and everyone is asking whether Stolypine will remain or not. There must be much squabbling there. They say Witte and Trepow who are his chief adversaries have been intriguing against him.

*Berlin, 28th March, 1911.*

The newspapers will have told you what the Emperor did at Venice, of the races with the Duke d'Abruzzi and the numberless visits to beautiful Venetians while the Empress stayed quietly on board ship with her daughter. The Emperor is taking a suite of eighty people with him to Corfu. They've had to build a house on purpose to put them all up. Two years ago the suite had to live on board ship as there was nowhere else. This Corfu business devours so much money and is producing general irritation, as royal belongings are sold in Prussia in order to keep it going.

*Rome, 6th-10th April, 1911.*

Giolitti has become Prime Minister retaining six members of Luzatti's Ministry and he has dispensed with Bissolati. On the whole people seem satisfied with this solution. In Berlin

*Rome—Bülow at the Villa Malta*

Bethmann made rather a blunt speech on the question of disarmament, something which Germany doesn't want at any price. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is always to the fore without coming to anything. The result is that at Strasburg as at Metz discontent increases and strained feelings are showing themselves more every day.

Everything is very pretty here at the moment. In town there are great comings and goings, the exhibitions are attracting many people as also the Easter festivities. All this world must be responsible for the movement of a lot of money which is a good thing.

It seems to me that they are not spending any too much for the imperial guests. A dinner of forty at the Quirinal, a luncheon with the Queen Mother and a brief appearance for a quarter of an hour at the Opera have been the sole entertainments vouchsafed them. That day I found myself in the theatre, but our box was on the same side as the Court so I was unable to see anything.

Last night I dined with Bülow. The Villa Malta has been altered considerably but not embellished by the Princess. In my opinion she's ruined it. It was a dinner of twenty people, most agreeable. Bülow is the most charming talker one could meet. He spoke of everything, and his opinions on the Germans and the French were very characteristic. He declares he's charmed at being in Rome, far from the turmoil of affairs and able to devote himself to his taste for reading, and he is revelling at finding himself in a purely Latin country with intelligent people who understand him. He never mentioned the Emperor's name and even refrained from alluding to him and he doesn't want to return to Berlin any more. He has learnt that it pays him better to keep away. He said all this without the least bitterness. Frau von Bülow appears to me to be inclined to be much more

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*The Crown Princess in Rome*

bitter and she has felt their fall more than her husband. Perhaps he knows better how to dissimulate. At dinner there were San Giuliano who seemed to me very agreeable, Mattioli<sup>1</sup> of whom everybody speaks well, the Tavernas, the Centurionis, and several others whose names I've forgotten.

*Rome, 14th-18th April, 1911.*

Jagow invited me to dine on Easter Sunday. He complains bitterly about his health and looks depressed. Mühlberg who is appointed to the Pope doesn't look much better. They're both a melancholy pair of Ambassadors. At one time the Emperor didn't want to appoint them. It was Bülow who forced him to it.

I am becoming more and more convinced that the Crown Princess has been taking a lot of trouble. She immediately made a study of the map of the country and she has created a very good impression here. The Prince has less of the spirit of his wife and he was naturally less appreciated. Professor Boni who was commissioned to show them the Palatine said the Prince took no interest in anything but took great delight in ridiculing everything of that sort. He is sure that that is his outlook on life, and if he doesn't change in this respect, once on the Throne he'll commit more than one bloomer which will have greater significance than now. Professor Boni lunched with us the other day. I was enchanted by his conversation and at having been able to make his acquaintance.

Yesterday evening I had a long visit from Malatesta who belongs to the "Blacks." He is very preoccupied with the policy of the Vatican. He says Merry del Val counts for nothing as he's never consulted. There are two Cardinals, an Italian and a Spaniard, in no way diplomats who are the

<sup>1</sup> At present Court Chamberlain at the Quirinal.



*Albania and the "Young Turks"—Bismarck's Memoirs*

confidants of Pius X and to whom he submits all his ideas. And it is to these two unknown persons we owe the latest measures which have been taken. Malatesta says the present Pope has a horror of anything secular and will never ask advice from anyone but an ecclesiastic. Nonetheless at this moment at the Vatican they're beginning to perceive they've made some mistakes and that they've gone rather far.

Newspapers are full of the Albanian insurrection which is having a very debilitating effect on the Young Turk Party. They have scarcely had a chance up till now. The revolution which they effected in Turkey has not had the happy consequences hoped for. The Treasury is as empty as ever and the system of government by terror is maintained as before.

Here the minister Giolitti goes from success to success. Everything which the Chamber refused Luzatti they grant the former and universal suffrage will go through like a letter in the post.

I saw Bülow twice more. He avoids in conversation all allusion to Berlin and he affects a perfect serenity. Nevertheless during a *tête-à-tête* one can quite well feel the bitterness at the bottom of his heart. He doesn't forgive, and as on the other side they're even less prone to forgiveness I ask myself how far this conflict will go, because there certainly is one.

Bülow talked to me a lot about Bismarck's memoirs which he said were published too early and in which according to him, the Great man didn't always reveal himself as a gentleman. I concluded from this he was writing his own recollections, but that he would surround them with greater discretion than he who thought everything was permitted him.

The Emperor of Austria has just presented the Golden Fleece to the King of Bulgaria. This has been widely noticed and has created a good deal of comment. I don't in the least

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*"The Chronicles"*

understand Austria's Eastern policy. In France there is a great upheaval amongst the wine growers of Champagne. They have been obliged to dispatch a whole army corps to subdue them, but it's not finished yet.

*Paris, 24th April, 1911.*

Reasonable people here are extremely anxious about what is happening in Morocco.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand the Government is so frightened of what Germany may do, and on the other hand in such fear lest a general may distinguish himself and group around him a nation which has had more than enough of it. The Government is acting with incredible dilatoriness and doesn't do more than feel its way. I know there is great anxiety at the Ministry of War and in the Foreign Office.

Side by side with this political agitation there is an intellectual movement in Paris which is atoning for ugly customs and all encroaching "Bridge." In every drawing-room one meets members of the Academy. It's Monsieur de Ségur who made the report on the subject of prizes, and it must be due to his eloquent praises that *The Chronicles*<sup>2</sup> were chosen. You will understand that I exhibit all my feelings of gratitude to these immortals when I find myself amongst them.

*Paris, 4th May, 1911.*

To-day the papers announce that Albania is thoroughly roused. And I ask myself more and more how the Young Turks can carry on in such a muddle.

The first of May was quiet in Paris. There was great movement of troops and police. La Place de la Concorde

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Morocco," pp. 357-61.

<sup>2</sup> *The Chronicles* of the duchesse de Dino, published by Princess Radziwill.

*Schoen and Morocco—Francis Joseph*

and the Esplanade des Invalides were entirely occupied, there were great assemblies of people at these two points, but I was able to move about in my carriage and people were calm.

The other day Monsieur Goyau came into my little drawing-room saying: "The Academy have smiled upon the duchesse de Dino." He put it very nicely it seemed to me.

Yesterday I dined next to Schoen, our ambassador here. He told me Moroccan affairs were being settled. This morning I see in the *Figaro* that at last news has been received of Colonel Bremand, but that the military situation is still serious. Schoen to whom I said that here they feared Germany replied merely by a gesture which signified they weren't wrong. And on the other side of the Rhine they are certainly becoming every day more jingoist and insupportable.

*Berlin, 8th May, 1911.*

I have found a letter on my table here from Betka from which I detach the following paragraph: "The Emperor carries himself like the new bridge, and the indisposition which has been spread abroad has been a pretext for countermanding the visit of the King of Servia which was to have taken place at Pesth. The Hungarians were beside themselves at having their capital chosen for receiving this abominable personage, and they wanted to offer him insults. On the other hand the Servians themselves, at least the Radical Party, didn't want this Austrian visit because two years ago this Power refused compensation at the time of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Servian Minister here was deputed to protest. In brief, this visit has had to be adjourned and probably abandoned. Aerenthal has made one of his bloomers which will cost him dear and it's probable that it will bring about a crisis at the end of his leave. People

haven't any intention of exposing the oldest and most respected of European sovereigns to receive this regicide in his territory, and everyone is furious here. They were not able to find anybody who was willing to take on the service of being attached to this King's suite, and the Archducal Heir declared that he didn't want to see him."

In Berlin they don't believe in any great complications in connection with the Morocco Question because they profess to be quite sure that this time England is not disposed to put herself at the side of France. I confess I'm less certain of this than they, because if England can do anything disagreeable to Germany she won't let an opportunity slip.

Kiderlen who's been drinking too much beer and gobbling too many truffles this winter has been obliged to take the cure at Kissingen and he's just off. The diplomats mistrust him, they don't believe he's sincere, and I notice more anxiety amongst the latter than amongst the Germans.

Cambon said to me: "I prefer to deal with Bethmann, because I'm as certain of his honesty as of his loyalty, and he's agreeable, whereas when I have to go to Kiderlen it is always unpleasant and I have the impression he isn't a man of good faith."

*Mankiewiczze, 13th-17th May, 1911.*

According to the Polish newspapers Moroccan news is worse than ever. Germany accuses Delcassé and professes to recognise his meddlesome hand there, whereas the flames are fanned in Berlin by the Pan-Germanists who would recoil at nothing to bring about a new war in France. The Monis Ministry is very weak. The Government doesn't do anything and is dragging out terribly a state of things the danger of which is increasing every day. The Emperor of Austria ought to give good advice to Berlin. He is perhaps the only

*Morocco—The Russian Duma—Alsace*

one whose voice people would listen to and which might put a damper on that of the Pan-Germanists.

Here one feels absolutely out of the world. One knows nothing of what is going on. Even the Warsaw papers arrive irregularly, and letters when they don't arrive frightfully late don't arrive at all, and one waits for them in vain. The "Black" Cabinet is more active than ever. In fact it suffices to read Stolypine's latest speech in the Duma to realise this man's despotism and his singular interpretation of the laws which he intends the Duma (which doesn't want them) to vote. No-one knows how this crisis will end. They maintain that the supreme master is furious and if he keeps him in power this is because he hasn't anybody to take his place conveniently. All this is possible, but it is too far away here to be able to corroborate these statements.

At Berlin the Committee for the Alsace-Lorraine business has rejected the Government's scheme by a single vote majority. It appears the brusque closure of the Chamber at Strasburg on the eve of the vote asserted a great influence on the deputies. The measure is in effect impolitic, and now what is the Government going to do? Such are the details which daily prove to what extent Prussia has been clumsy in her management of the annexed Provinces. Instead of making herself loved there and getting those principles of order which so characterise Prussian administration appreciated, she gets herself detested, and the sentiment of animosity against the vanquishers is only fortified with time instead of diminishing.

Morocco is going badly too, but in this question it seems the Emperor and also Bethmann are being prudent. They don't want to follow the Pan-Germanists and Kiderlen has confessed he has not been able to obtain permission from on high to act as he and they would have liked!

*Mankiewiczze, 21st-25th May, 1911.*

If you are finding the situation out there where you are obscure, what should we say of it here? I know none of the men who are spoken of in the newspapers, and I know nothing of their point of view, so it is impossible for me to understand anything about what is happening in Turkey, save that the Young Turk Party started their work too soon to be strong and that they have not been able to direct a movement which they have let loose with too little caution. Now their position is risky enough. The papers relate that the ex-Sultan, ill in Salonika, wanted to fling himself from a window in a fit of rage.

You will have read the note which appeared in the official Russian newspaper on the subject of Germany and the Moroccan Question. It will have caused faces to be made in Berlin all the more as it also referred to the business of the English railway in Persia. The Pan-Germanist newspapers are the more furious as support for the Russian note is forthcoming from Vienna. All this doesn't surprise me. I had foreseen they would commit many follies at Berlin and that one would be bound to feel the effects some day or other.

They say Tschirschky, the German Ambassador in Vienna, will be asked to leave his post. If it's true he has inspired the Vienna Newspapers in a Pan-Germanist direction, he will have only got what he deserves. What above all must be putting them out at Berlin is that they have been shouting the triumph of the Potsdam interview of last October from the house-tops, and now they see in spite of all the talent which Germans had attributed to Kiderlen, he hasn't been at all successful.

They have written me from St. Petersburg that the German

### *The Crown Prince's Tour and His Blunders*

Crown Prince was announced at the Hermitage museum. They waited for him there from three o'clock till six without his coming. It seems he slept, that his suite didn't dare to interrupt his siesta, and he left St. Petersburg without seeing the Museum and without having tea with his wife's uncle, the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch, who had invited him and who also waited for him in vain.

*Kleinitz, 2nd June, 1911.*

I have just been spending forty-eight very agreeable hours at Trachenburg where the Hatzfeldts did everything they could to be pleasant. There I learnt that the Emperor William's visit to London had created a good impression. He was tactful and didn't talk politics either to the King or his ministers. By his friendliness and good manners the Emperor pleased the mass of the public and was very popular. It was Benckendorff who gave these details to his sister. She also related that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand is in the process of losing sympathy. He can't await any longer the moment for ascending the Throne, and shows his impatience at the green old age of Francis Joseph, which is having a very bad effect on the public by whom the Emperor is very much revered. The Crown Prince of Germany multiplied his blunders during his tour. At Cairo the Khedive made haste to pay him a visit. Instead of returning this an hour later according to custom, the Prince only did so on the following day. The Khedive showed himself sufficiently irritated about this, nevertheless he invited the Prince to dine and sent a gala coach to fetch him. The moment the coach was signalled the Khedive hastened down the stairs to receive the Prince when lo and behold he found himself face to face with officers of the suite who had been pushed into the coach so as to save the expense of hiring, whereas the Crown

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*Fez—Moroccan Complications*

Prince arrived in the hotel motor-car a few minutes later. The Khedive was furious and treated the Prince with marked coldness at dinner.

The French have at last entered Fez and the Europeans are saved. Let us hope the German Government will act with wisdom and will know how to restrain the Pan-Germanists who are spoiling everything by the bluntness of their politics.

The *Post* of Berlin, one of the interpreters of the Pan-Germanists most to the fore, doesn't conceal its greed and quite frankly states that Morocco is an excellent country for colonisation, that nowhere would one find any better and for this reason Germany must install herself there. I cannot understand how in Berlin they can expose such principles to the full light of day. This won't increase Germany's friends.

*Kleinitz, 14th June, 1911.*

Moroccan affairs are going very badly. It is Germany who has succeeded in putting the Spaniards against the French on the quiet and God knows what will happen now. The German Press doesn't enquire whether the Act of Algeciras has been respected or violated by the disembarkation of Spaniards at Laraishe, and the dominant sentiment is one of satisfaction at seeing a misunderstanding arise between Spain and France. Kiderlen instead of hurrying back to Berlin to take up the affairs of his office, is prolonging his stay in Kissingen on the pretext of taking a longer cure. It's all a mass of treachery. It does no credit to our Government and I am certain the Emperor doesn't in the least realise all the trickery which is taking place behind his back. He only reads cuttings from the papers put in front of him by his ministers. Everything else is ignored by him and this always annoys me.

My daughter who arrived yesterday tells me that also in



*An Entertainment at Lançut in Prospect*

Vienna they see Germany behind Spain. The Archducal Heir-to-the-Throne spoke to her with respect of the Emperor William, but the Crown Prince must have created a bad impression because he expressed himself disdainfully about this young Prince whose bloomers multiply themselves daily. . . . It is simply his bad upbringing. The Empress has spoilt him far too much.

*Kleinitz, 18th June, 1911.*

My daughter went off again yesterday after four full days here. She will return to Lançut on Monday. At the end of October she will have a visit from the Archduke Francis who is coming with his wife to shoot. At this moment she is having the castle theatre at Lançut restored and wants to inaugurate it for the visit by a suitable play. One of their neighbours well up in this art is busy with its composition. It all seems to me rather difficult to organise since they don't want to act it in German on account of the Poles, the Archduke speaks French very badly and scarcely knows it, and as for Polish he doesn't know a word. To solve this complicated problem I have suggested a pantomime to her. This will give rise to other kinds of difficulties, but there are difficulties in everything one attempts in this world.

In Berlin we're shortly going to celebrate a centenary. On 30th September next the Empress Augusta would have been a hundred. Her daughter is anxious to do something special to celebrate a memory already so forgotten, and by her insistence she has succeeded in getting Knesebeck to write something. He often spoke to me about it last Winter and I urged him to look into the archives of the Royal Family and as much as possible to make the Empress herself speak. This is what he has done and here is what the Grand Duchess of Baden wrote to me about it last night.

"Knesebeck has been here for three days. Useless to tell you how much I've enjoyed his presence. One can transport oneself back to old times with him and I did so with gratitude towards someone who has remained the faithful trustee of our period. We looked through a whole dossier of most precious and interesting things, even my mother's memoirs of the years 1840-50. Very remarkable. Then for the introduction recollections of youth, Weimar, Russian tour, correspondence with her grandparents, and finally letters written to my father after becoming engaged up till his marriage. I hesitated long before giving my consent to this latter publication. It is too intimate for my taste, but the young Princess's superiority is most striking. She was then seventeen, and twenty-nine when she wrote the memoirs mentioned above."

*Kleinitz, 22nd-26th June, 1911.*

The German press say that the Sultan's journey in Albania has had such good results that they think he will have to make another to Asiatic Turkey and particularly to Armenia. The French papers are not of this opinion and say very little about the present journey. People are naturally talking a lot about the coronation of the King of England which promises to be something quite marvellous. I've written to London for illustrations appearing about the festivities to be sent me, because I haven't had an instant's desire to exchange my present solitude of Kleinitz for a place at the English Court which would have enabled me to view this fine sight.

I am not altogether able to share your optimism about politics. If only you could see matters closer as I see them only too clearly, all the intrigues of the Pan-Germanist Party, its haughty tone, its unconcealed ambitions, its disdain for all other nations, particularly France, the idea which it has conceived of its strength, of its power, and this immeasurable

### *A New Ministry in Paris*

greed which consumes it, you would have other ideas, and you would very readily admit that Germany has induced the Spaniards to make difficulties for the French in Morocco.

The Emperor is perhaps the only one who sees and understands their intrigues, he has too much wit to let himself be taken in by those sort of people. He combats them so far as he can, not always with skill but he lets them feel from time to time that he isn't always on their side. Alas he is often got round, hearing of things when they have already been done and not reading the newspapers enough himself. One must not delude oneself; all his entourage, including several of his ministers, now share the Pan-Germanists' ideas, and the Emperor will have to use immense prudence to repair the damage and put things in their proper place.

Meanwhile in Paris there's the Monis Ministry fallen, and this won't be much of a loss. The Ministry fell over the question of the High Command of the army, which does credit to the National intelligence. When it's a question of the army the French don't understand jokes and they're right.

*Kleinitz, 30th June, 1911.*

Caillaux succeeds Monis, and everyone seems to me very displeased at this unfortunate choice of a successor, which doesn't do the country any good. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs is quite an unknown quantity and won't inspire any more confidence with foreign Powers than did Cruppi whom they all mistrusted. In France there are so many good elements that it's sad to see her so badly governed.

*Kleinitz, 4th July, 1911.*

The death of Princess Clothilde was as edifying as was her whole life. The French papers have published a splendid letter of the Princess addressed to her father the King at the

moment of the fall of the Empire in 1870. You find in it the dignity and courage of a person of breeding who recognises the obligations of nobility. They have held Masses in Paris in which the Bonapartist Party showed itself conspicuously taking part and all the newspaper articles express themselves with the greatest respect and veneration for so much virtue.

Germany is beginning to interfere in Morocco. Schoen has made a *démarche* to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris announcing that the German Government have decided to send a warship to Agadir to protect the lives and property of Germans and their dependants there. The departure of the gunboat *Panther* has been announced to the Powers. In Paris this step has produced genuine alarm. One knows the Agadir part of the world has always been one of the aims of the Pan-Germanists and I'm convinced after what I've seen in Berlin all this business has been in preparation for some time. Germany is determined to have compensation in Morocco and the activities of the Spaniards have facilitated this manœuvre.

They write me as follows from Berlin :

"You will remember last winter suddenly the rumour was propagated that the Crown Prince had been obliged to retrace his steps at a moment's notice as he had been recalled by the Emperor. It was noticed after his departure from Bombay no further reports of plague were heard. It is only now details of this affair are known.

"It appears that at a party given for the Prince the latter made the acquaintance of a dashing young woman and that the two young people disappeared together. When after useless investigations the Prince returned after three days' absence the Emperor had been informed. The story of the plague was invented to explain an imperative recall."

### *A Princely Indiscretion—Morocco*

Whenever people spoke to me about this summons they made plain there was some underlying mystery. I must confess this story seems very odd for a man who is married and the father of three children. It is true the Prince has the reputation of being indiscreet, that people are astonished at the Princess's patience, and that he gives proofs everywhere of the greatest frivolity of character. They tell me the Emperor scolds him terribly sometimes but all to no purpose and that the Prince laughs at these paternal remonstrances as soon as his father's back has been turned.

Turkish affairs are very involved. The King of Montenegro is playing a singular rôle in the affairs of Albania, and Turkey is surrounded by people who only want to consume her. It is a strange policy which desires to do to others what one would not like others to do to oneself.

*Kleinitz, 6th July, 1911.*

The Moroccan affair appears to become more and more aggravated every day. It is plain that continual changes in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs are not a good thing at such a serious moment. Germany has known how to profit by these.

What strikes me very painfully is the lack of good faith which rules at Berlin, the comedy which is being played by Kiderlen and the predatoriness which is so manifest in the press. Not a sentiment of justice or generosity. It really makes one suffer to be a witness of all this instability increasing every day.

Poor Queen Maria Pia has not long survived her saintly sister. She has soon gone off to find her in a better world. The unfortunate woman undoubtedly succumbed to the dreadful sorrows which afflicted her last years. Now the whole generation of Victor Emanuel II has entirely disappeared

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*Agadir—Asquith and the Cabinet*

with this queen. Will the young King Manuel ever return to Portugal? Such extraordinary things happen in that country that there's no knowing.

What a game this is they're having in the Balkans! Austria and Russia are inciting the King of Montenegro and the Albanians to revolt and want only to fling the Turk out of Europe.

*Kleinitz, 12th July, 1911.*

In sending a boat to Agadir Germany has had a slash at the treaties, and England has instantly taken a stand. Asquith's declaration in Parliament takes a very firm line and Germany can't be under any illusion about the attitude England is likely to take up. It appears our Majesties returned from their London journey last May in the belief that Anglo-German friendship had been restored. The Crown Prince and Princess who were specially fêted at the coronation confirmed the Emperor and his ministers still more in their impression, so they judged the hour propitious for the Agadir incident and now they're caught in Berlin and obliged to cry off. The British Cabinet have decided to give their faithful support to Paris. They were too hasty at Berlin. Herr von Kiderlen thought himself stronger than he is and he will be very astonished at the difficulties which his brutal gesture has provoked. . . .

Things aren't any better in the Balkans. Russia and Austria won't leave the wretched Turks in peace for a moment.

*Kleinitz, 15th July, 1911.*

The newspapers confirm what you tell me of the situation in Turkey where everything appears to be going absolutely to the Devil. Turkey is unhappily weak and has difficulty in resisting the results of Austrian and Russian intrigues,

*Agadir—A Fall on the Bourse*

traces of which aren't difficult to follow. I always have pity for the weak and I feel most indignant at this habit unfortunately as old as the world itself, of profiting by the weakness of others to rob them on some pretext or other. Germany seems to me to be going on just like this and she's trying all she can to lay down the law and obtain a footing in Morocco. For the moment people are unaware of the day the boat arrives at Agadir and no-one knows what is intended.

Germany hasn't as yet disclosed her game. She doesn't dare to expose this in public. But until she recognises that her establishment in Morocco won't be tolerated people are right in fearing the repercussions which her greed may arouse from one minute to the next. What is quite certain is that the Pan-Germanists can't contain themselves for joy.

The other day at lunch at the Hotel Bristol in Berlin, Lerchenfeld, who is indeed a man of a certain influence shouted out rubbing his hands: "Herr von Kiderlen hat endlich seine Kuruassierstiefel angezogen"—"Herr von Kiderlen has at last put on his war boots." And everybody is pleased at seeing him acting with Bismarck's fiery methods. . . .

Our financiers are less joyful because there has been a considerable fall on the Bourse in Berlin. They talk a lot about the public being amused by these so-called conversations of Cambon and Kiderlen, who are perhaps discussing something quite other than Morocco, and say that the closing of Parliament in Germany is significant. Ministers are afraid of questions on such a burning subject. Briefly there is great anxiety everywhere. In Berlin they are divided between the Chauvinists, the financiers and those who are reasonable. Unhappily the former are continually gaining more ground. For years now they've been determined on war with France.

They seek every possible means to bring it about and I don't doubt they will achieve their aims on the first fine day. I'm very sad about it.

Kleinitz, 20th July, 1911.

Everything seems ablaze in Turkey. The insurrection is gaining ground everywhere and a reaction against the new régime seems about to spring up in every corner of that empire. Russia's and Austria's game may perhaps turn out happily for those two Powers from their point of view, but their victims are much to be pitied because I believe them to be more honourable than these usurpers who are only thinking of getting booty and as much of it as they possibly can. This policy has been followed *vis-à-vis* at Turkey for nearly fifty years under one pretext or another.

Nor is Morocco a pretty picture. These mysterious and eternal conversations between Cambon and Kiderlen are far from pleasing to me. Germany wants booty, but she's wanting so much that she doesn't dare say how much either too soon or too loud. And France appears to me to be incredibly weak. Nothing is more dangerous or less likely to make for a stable peace than giving way all the time. It isn't worth while making new concessions if at regular intervals of three years everything's got to begin again.

They say Germany considers the Act of Algeciras as no longer binding and I ask myself why, because it was she who was determined upon that conference which nobody else wanted. This declaration on her part seems all the more extraordinary as the final act bears the signature of fourteen Powers and a single Power can't tear it up in this way. It's true Germany didn't have the best rôle at Algeciras and that this annoys her very much like an unpleasant recollection.

This time Kiderlen's "beau geste" may well produce a



*France and Spain in Morocco*

result which won't afford him any too much pleasure. He's been far too daring.

*Kleinitz, 24th July, 1911.*

Politics are becoming more and more involved. Germany's lack of faith is only too evident. Treaties which she has signed with other Powers simply don't exist for her. She only considers the right of the strongest, her big guns, her numberless arms. And where are her feelings of honour? And what right has she to territory in Morocco?

One couldn't expect anything else from a negotiator like Kiderlen. He's a man to whom all feelings of delicacy are utterly foreign. His sole method is that of the brute as they say in Berlin. Experience will prove to him in due course that this is not the way to manage and that one day he will set all Europe against him. To-day there is an extremely significant speech of the British Finance Minister. Whatever will people think of Germany if the Government has to give way after having made such a fuss and shown so much impudence. The misdeeds of the Spaniards against the French are unbelievable. Naturally there is only one thing to be said, that the Spaniards are being pushed into it by the Germans.

Turkish happenings recall to mind the end of Poland and the years preceding the first partition.

*Kleinitz, 28th July, 1911.*

Politics are in a sad way here but the Emperor is returning and I'm hoping he'll be careful and able to control those people who think they can do just as they please. The Germans have also sent a boat to Hayiti which is under France's protection. Really Germany is opposing a menace to general peace such as has never been seen before. In

peace time to demand the Congo from France two years after having solemnly engaged to abandon all designs on Morocco is more than merely asking for a colony without drawing the sword as Germany maintains. It's the submission to her will of a great and independent Power.

*Kleinitz, 1st August, 1911.*

The Emperor has returned to Swinemünde. He's dragging Bethmann and Kiderlen about with him on walks and motor excursions. He doesn't seem to be troubling himself much about Morocco, or of wishing to extricate Kiderlen from the impasse which he's got himself into with his endless pretensions. People find him conciliatory in accepting the opposite of what his ministers are demanding, but I should like to know what right Germany has to exact compensations from France for Morocco. It is really too arrogant and piratical a policy which she is carrying out through her more than extraordinary Foreign Minister. Happily England has come on the scenes just in time to put things straight. If Kiderlen has been trying to test whether the cordial understanding between France and England still exists he must have been disappointed. It seems he believed that these ties were very relaxed and it was this which made him launch this boat on Agadir, thus exhibiting an utter lack of psychological insight which is astonishing.

My eldest daughter who is at Karlsbad sees many people there and this is what she writes me :

"The Moroccan business is becoming more and more disquieting, and this morning Bourse operators like Porgés, Friedländer, etc., seem very alarmed. People say the political situation has not been so strained since 1870. Lloyd George's speech has poured oil on the fire. It is certain if Prussia wants war she has chosen the most favourable moment when

### *The Kiel Canal—Countess Lonyay*

she is the strongest. The French say themselves that they would be beaten and Russia can't move for fear of a revolution. My nephew Tyschkiewicz who's just come from there told me things have never been so bad. He went and saw his old regiment and found that they're obliged to shut their eyes to indiscipline. It seems that in France a movement is being got up to put Prince Victor Bonaparte in power. A syndicate of bankers has been formed which is giving a hundred million for propaganda. And they say he would have a far better chance than the Duke of Orleans."

To-day's paper doesn't say much more about the negotiations. Perhaps war may be avoided, but these negotiations will always leave a very regrettable mark on Germany. She doesn't take this into account now but she won't escape the consequences later.

*Kleinitz, 5th August, 1911.*

Here is some more which Betka has written me :

"According to what the banker Friedländer has told me matters will be fixed up at present because Germany requires another two years before her fleet and the Kiel Canal can be ready and they don't want war before.

"I saw Countess Lonyay (ex-Archduchess Stéphanie) the other day at Marienbad. To my great astonishment she spoke of the chances of her brother-in-law, Victor Bonaparte, in connection with the French Throne and she mentioned that her sister had just bought two newspapers, the *Eclair* and the *Patrie*. What was amusing was that Countess Lonyay added that her own sympathies were for the Duke of Orleans whom she finds more sympathetic than Prince Victor."

The papers which have just come from Berlin to-night incline me to think they are rather drawing back at the

Wilhelmstrasse. Kiderlen's resignation is even spoken of. It is obvious the Emperor has got himself into a mess. Knowing him as I do he'll be furious at seeing all his efforts of the last four years to win English sympathies reduced to nothing by the Agadir incident. Kiderlen and the German diplomats in London who have so misinterpreted the effects of their latest manœuvres on English opinion won't have received many compliments from their master. I think things are moving towards a conference. Algeciras turned out so badly for Germany that this time they are very opposed to the idea, but I think they'll be obliged to submit to one all the same. Europe would lose patience altogether if Germany were to begin again in two years. The Emperor had gone to Norway only wishing for cordial conversations with France, but Kiderlen thought he might profit by his absence to confront him on his return with an achievement which he believed would be magnificent, but which turned out quite other than he expected. What a nasty surprise he has prepared for him. The Emperor is always outflanked without his suspecting anything. He ought to give up these trips which are such a mistake and which people make use of to weave plans behind his back.

*Kleinitz, 13th-17th August, 1911.*

The chats are going on between Cambon and Kiderlen in Berlin. There probably won't be war but nobody wants any more of this perpetual interference on Germany's part in the business of Morocco and other nation's colonies. One ought to find some means of shutting her mouth which won't be easy. It should also be made plain to her that her methods of obtaining what she wants are unsound. That a little more courtesy and loyalty in her diplomacy would not be amiss and would certainly be better than sending a gunboat to Agadir.

### *Prince Carolath and Morocco*

I am sure the Emperor feels what is lacking in his minister and wishes neither to see nor speak to him. Kiderlen always has to refer to the Chancellor who nevertheless has many other irons in the fire with elections coming on.

I spent the 15th at Amtitz with my neighbours the Henry Carolaths. The Prince spoke at great length on Morocco. He said that as a good German he considered it necessary for Germany to take a slice of Moroccan cake but that they had behaved at Berlin in the worst possible way to get it. The Prince isn't afraid of war, not even of a coalition of all Europe against Germany. He says that his country is so strong on land and sea it is certain to win. He's not afraid of the British fleet and pictures the German fleet beating it at sea before the English will have had time to blockade the German ports. As regards the German army, according to him it will be in Paris before the French have got to the frontier, and their army is so contaminated by socialists, anti-militarists, apaches, etc., that it's no longer worth anything. You will agree this language contains more than one exaggeration, but I wanted to hear him to the end to discover just how far the Germans were gorged with vanity. How much better they would do to be rather more reserved about their power. Their material strength is great I know, but the German nation is absolutely lacking in initiative. They are excellent imitators but they have never known how to initiate anything and a little more modesty would be in place.

*Kleinitz, 21st August, 1911.*

I'm again put out about this Moroccan business. It's getting worse and worse. And this interruption in the negotiations doesn't seem to me a reassuring sign especially after the conversations at Wilhelmshöhe. I had hoped for

a better issue. Although one doesn't say so, Kiderlen appears not to be in favour because he only received permission to trot behind during the walk which the Emperor took with the Chancellor in the park at Wilhelmshöhe and His Majesty received Kiderlen's reports at the hands of Bethmann.

According to letters which I get it was the big strikes in England which induced Kiderlen to think this would be the moment to attack Great Britain, for in a trice Germany could annihilate that Power, and France without England would count for absolutely nothing. It is this idea which has re-awakened Kiderlen's pretensions these last few days and brought about this interruption in the negotiations. In some circles it is freely said that France will have to give compensation to get him to leave Agadir. The very prompt dispatch of this ship was a mistake, people add, and has put Germany in such a false position that she would feel it a humiliation if the *Panther* had to leave Agadir without compensation. This I can well understand but why does the Government commit such stupid blunders : . . .

*Kleinitz, 2nd September, 1911.*

Moroccan affairs are going badly. At least it is difficult to see clearly Germany's game. She's doing all she can to annoy France without ever saying what it is she wants. The language of the press is so bitter that I don't like reading papers any longer. Even the Emperor hasn't been able to refrain from giving the English a slap in his latest speeches, and the whole British press has risen up to say things which are very disagreeable to Germany, for they are only too true.

France's language has been full of dignity up to the present, but if Germany always shows herself displeased at her proposals and won't listen to anything, France's anger will respond with an outburst of fury. Germany is playing with

*The Grand Duchess of Baden and Morocco*

fire in this Moroccan question. France cannot give her anything since Morocco doesn't belong to her and that country still possesses a sovereign.

Yesterday I had a visit from Princess Carolath. She stated people are astonished that Kiderlen is still at his post. The Emperor treated him very badly at Wilhelmshöhe and the public can't understand how the Emperor could discuss anything so serious as the Morocco affair during walks where the presence of a single bird might have distracted attention. This way of doing things is considered altogether too light-hearted.

*Berlin, 6th September, 1911.*

It's almost impossible for me in the midst of the life which I am leading here to collect my wits enough to be able to write anything sensible. There are nothing but memorial services for the old Empress, audiences, speeches, briefly, I'm incapable of anything more.

The Grand Duchess is beside herself over Morocco. She feels it has now become a question of honour and that they ought to go through with things to the bitter end. Here they base matters on the fact that France ignored the Treaty of Algeciras in having marched on Fez without having warned the Powers signatory to the Treaty. Nevertheless Cambon has told me that he had informed the Chancellor. It is a veritable imbroglio from which I don't know how they'll get out. Here there isn't a single statesman and the whole caboodle aren't worth anything. Vanity and pride are losing the whole world.

I found the Empress had aged considerably. She was peculiarly gracious to me. I didn't see the Emperor who was at Kiel for the review of the fleet. But I was told he was looking very sad and gave this impression to everybody,

that he had no-one who understood him or who was capable of helping him. There won't be war because he has declared to the Chancellor and Kiderlen he doesn't want one over Morocco. But Kiderlen (who is the man of the Pan-Germanists with whom are associated the Brothers Mannesmann—they are playing a big rôle in this business) continues to present matters to the Emperor in a false light just as Holstein used to do. This was why he descended upon Tangier six years ago against his will, and how Kiderlen obtained the dispatch of the ship to Agadir. The latter is keeping the negotiations going as long as possible as he believes this will be a more glorious way of getting out of his mistake. Nevertheless Germany should bring them to an end without delay for her own sake.

I found a large number of people greatly concerned about the Socialist demonstration of a week ago to protest against war, and by the speeches that were made, and on top of this, by the fall on the Bourse which brought about a panic in Berlin, from which even the provincial savings banks suffered. These are some of the inconveniences of Kiderlen's voluntary dilatoriness.

I've heard that Germany has built too many battleships in recent years and that she lacks officers to command them and ratings for manning them. This was told me by someone of importance as quite definite. He also spoke of the extreme embarrassment in which the navy found itself at a time like the present.

*Kleinitz, 14th September, 1911.*

What do you say to Germany's demands in the Moroccan Question? Of the involved language used at Berlin for expressing their desires? And their contradictoriness? The Berlin Bourse continues to tumble, failures are occurring all



*Moroccan Negotiations—Stolypine Assassinated*

the time, everyone is suffering the effects of a policy pursued with a lightheartedness difficult to realise. The Emperor doesn't give himself the trouble any longer of going deeply into matters. It's only when they go badly that he deigns to cast an eye upon things. It is often too late. God knows how they displayed the Moroccan Question to him. And this policy will leave Germany in a very bad position as regards the new elections, if it doesn't lead to war. The country won't forgive all the losses of money which are the outcome of this way of going on.

*Kleinitz, 18th September, 1911.*

The negotiations regarding Morocco are proceeding very slowly. The public are extremely nervous about them, and the Government is trying to calm public opinion. But meanwhile the Bourse is falling and business is at a standstill. I wish France would call for a European conference. This would be the sole way of bringing this business to an end and of putting the obligation on Germany of not beginning her squabbles every three or five years. Every time the Emperor himself intervenes one can see that he is seeking peace, but then a warlike wind begins to blow from the Wilhelmstrasse with fresh demands. Personally I don't believe the Emperor rules any longer.

The latest outrage in Russia is terrible but I'm not particularly surprised. Stolypine had been pursuing a retrograde policy for some time. He treated the Finns, the Courlanders and the Poles as enemies, and he persecuted the Jews most drastically. This violent russification is bound to bring vengeance. My daughter Helen was in Kieff. She was at the theatre in a box down below quite close to Stolypine's. The latter had just asked her who a very pretty woman was, who was close by and Joseph answered, "It is

Countess Rzeswuska. Your Excellency has good taste." At that instant he noticed a blond young man slinking between him and Stolypine and saw him fire two shots from a revolver. Joseph only just missed it. . . . The screams of the two young Grand Duchesses and the crowd were terrible. The officers immediately drew their swords. The newspapers will have told you the rest. Helen tells me further that Joseph was summoned during the night to give evidence and was confronted by the assassin. The latter was perfectly well known to the Kieff police and he would never have got a ticket for the theatre had not the Government had the brilliant idea of sending away the Kieff police and replacing these during the Czar's stay by police from St. Petersburg who didn't know the ground. What ineptitude !

It seems there's also a great panic in Belgium because it is known, if Germany declares war, it is through that country Germany wants to pounce on Paris outflanking the fortified places in the North of France.

*Kleinitz, 22nd September, 1911.*

For a long time I've been pointing out to you Germany's state of weakness under this extraordinary appearance of power. I told you how at the first difficult moment one would see how fragile the financial situation really was, because her economic organisation was based solely on credit.

You see what bewilderment the first difficulty has aroused, and if war were declared this would be a catastrophe. I believe the Emperor doesn't in the least realise this and in any case he has no eye for choosing the people with whom he surrounds himself and from whom he takes his ministers. He no longer takes the trouble to get to the bottom of things. He nominated Kiderlen when he was suggested to him and

*Tripoli—A Fall on the Bourse*

you see how the latter acquits himself. Everyone is in the hands of business adventurers.

I confess I see everything very black for this country and the dynasty. The Emperor no longer governs, and his son doesn't inspire any confidence for the future.

I've had a letter from Paris where they are arming with great vigour.

*Kleinitz, 26th September, 1911.*

News from Tripoli is bad.<sup>1</sup> The question of Tripoli seems likely to take the place of the Moroccan Question which appears to be on the wane. Kiderlen, in view of the firmness of France and the financial losses in Germany, has been obliged at last to get out of his equivocal position and accept France's proposals. Frau Schwabach writes from Baden that the previous day she had met a financier who told her that if Herr von Zimmermann had not been commissioned by the German Government to warn the big Berlin banks that the Moroccan conversations were almost concluded and that an understanding would most certainly be achieved there would have been such a cataclysm on the Berlin Bourse last Thursday as has never been seen. The big banks which had received this information united together and were happily able to save the situation. The weakness of German finances has thus had its good side in making Kiderlen get out of his casuistry and squabbles.

*Kleinitz, 30th September, 1911.*

This evening's paper knocks me flat.<sup>1</sup> Italy seems to have sent an ultimatum and Turkey has replied with a "Non Possumus." And now war is declared. From the way in which things have been going for the last week one can

<sup>1</sup> See note on "Tripoli," pp. 381-3.

1911]

*Italy and Turkey at War*

see that your Government were determined on it. Pray God that it will be propitious for your country, but it is a terrible thing and I find myself speechless with all that is happening before my eyes. It's really that awful boat at Agadir which has upset the whole world. Germany doesn't know what trouble she has brought on Europe with her unhealthy ambitions which have become infectious. There are serious moments in life and the present seems to me particularly so. I'm very afraid this may be the signal for a general war. Ambitions are being stirred up everywhere, and with so many new inventions what added dangers, what horrors one can foresee and what misery may result from it all. It makes me go cold all over just thinking about it.

*Berlin, 15th October, 1911.*

I've seen few people here. The Moroccan affair receives another check. Kiderlen has so irritated the French nation by his delays, equivocations, his quibbles and everything, that protests are being raised by French public opinion against the Congo Concessions. This is all very upsetting to the French Ambassador here.

There is in Europe a peculiarly detestable being. This is Aerenthal in Austria. He is simply a climber. He was the first to set a bad example by seizing Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Emperor from loyalty to Austria came to his aid. . . . Appetite comes with eating. Morocco came on the scene, and Morocco has engendered Tripoli. God knows what still awaits us.

*Paris, 24th October, 1911.*

Here they find Schoen most agreeable and all are sorry to see him so little used by his government which is leaving him

*M. Jules Cambon on the Morocco Negotiations*

out in the Morocco negotiations. Here is what Cambon writes me in connection with these interminable negotiations.

"We will I hope soon arrive at the end of our labours. Of course no-one will be pleased. However I believe that it will be an honourable solution for everyone. Besides, I am resolved to take philosophically the attacks of the ignorant who have not the least idea of the peril to which a check in the negotiations might expose us. In Germany at the moment public feeling is becoming exasperated and I believe our French Chauvinists don't suspect that they could not give greater pleasure to the German Jingoists than by making everything come to grief."

Here also everyone is expecting this week to see the end of this Moroccan business.

Yesterday I saw General Sylvestre. He seems to do nothing but come back from manœuvres. He says the French army hasn't been in such good condition for a long time as it is to-day. Discipline is perfect, and the spirit excellent, and if Germany wants a war the moment is favourable for France. All these quibbles on Germany's part have had the advantage of uniting the whole world in a great spirit of patriotic fervour and no-one is afraid of war. If it must be it must.

Here they all seem to me delighted by your initiative, they were so terrified of seeing Germany installing herself in Tripoli. Because having failed in Morocco she might well have snatched that bit of African coast to obtain the influence she is seeking in the Mediterranean. . . . It's incredible how Germany is getting herself detested everywhere. A rapprochement with France is further off than ever.

*Berlin, 5th November, 1911.*

To-day they are to sign the Morocco agreement. After four months of negotiations this isn't bad. The gentlemen

of the French Embassy can't do any more. They're quite exhausted by it all. In any case it will only be a temporary arrangement which won't last long.

Discontent is widespread. People are furious with Kiderlen and Bethmann. The Minister of Marine over whose head the boat was sent to Agadir couldn't be more put out, and he's said he won't take part in the debates in the Reichstag on this subject, and that he will only get up if his officers are attacked. The Minister for the Colonies (Lindequist) has made such a fuss at not having been consulted about the Exchange in connection with the Congo that he's resigned. The Emperor with the best will in the world has not managed to give proof of any great perspicacity. While wholly desiring peace he acts without weighing the consequences and the results are precisely the opposite of what he wants.

The day before yesterday at manœuvres he met the French Military Attaché and had a long conversation with him. He complained of not being understood by his ministers and ambassadors. That he himself sought and desired an understanding with France, that this was his greatest wish but that he always found annoyances and difficulties among his own people. And he begged him to tell the Ministers in Paris of his own personal feelings because he attached importance to these being made known.

*Berlin, 9th November, 1911.*

The Emperor is doing a lot of shooting and it's to-morrow they're going to discuss the Moroccan agreement in Parliament. The latter would like to demand the right to ratify treaties as in France and no longer leave this prerogative in the Emperor's hands. Lerchenfeld says, "They will ask for it, they won't get it and that will be all." I also think it

### *The Crown Prince's Indiscretion*

will end like that, but after what chatter and haggings. Lerchenfeld also says that his Regent is ill and approaching his end. This will be a great loss for the Emperor, for the Regent's son isn't well disposed towards him. He is above all particularist and won't be inclined to steer his ship in the direction of the Empire.

*Berlin, 15th November, 1911.*

After the Chancellor's first speech explaining the Moroccan agreement, the head of the Conservative party, Herr Heydebrand, allowed himself to use singular language against England. Language which plainly had the approval of the Crown Prince. The Prince came purposely from Danzig to be present at this sitting but he would have done better to remain with his regiment. That evening at dinner at the Neues Palais the Prince had to make his excuses to the Chancellor and received orders from his father forbidding him ever to set foot in Parliament again. I've reason to believe the paternal wrath is colossal and if one does not see an outward explosion, the fact doesn't pass unnoticed. It appears the Crown Prince had already converted his brothers to his ideas and that they were forming an opposition camp which might have the gravest consequences for the future. An Heir-to-the-Throne's setting an example of insubordination is a sad thing and I feel very sorry for the Emperor. He has a kind heart and must suffer dreadfully. You will find an account of both sittings in the papers. The *Temps* describes them with great accuracy. The second day Bethmann, who felt himself supported by the Emperor, made an excellent speech. He spoke with great energy and knew very well how to reply to the other heads of parties who had been reciting so many hollow phrases the day before. That it was neither Morocco nor the Congo which induced their

attacks but solely their care for the forthcoming elections no-one has dared to contradict.

During the second sitting the Crown Prince who couldn't be present went up in a balloon to make a tour of Berlin and subsequently to the reception that evening. This was nothing much. With regard to the first sitting, Prince Carolath writes :

"What the papers say about the attitude of the Crown Prince is still not the whole truth. This was a veritable 'pronunciamento' and one would never have believed such a thing possible."

Reading papers here one learns absolutely nothing of what is happening in your theatre of war, to such an extent does the German press distort the truth. Last night I saw Lerchenfeld. He spoke in high praise of your finances saying that these were at present in the soundest condition of any in Europe, and that Italy owed this fact to Baron Sonnino.

As for Jagow, he's a bad bedfellow and one of those who report wrongly about your army to the Government here because he's so furious at having been unable to foretell the Tripoli expedition which was in course of preparation.

*Berlin, 21st-25th November, 1911.*

The Emperor is ill with grief and annoyance on account of the Crown Prince. Apart from this he showed great coolness in the last crisis and it was he who inspired the Chancellor to make his second speech on Morocco which created such a good impression. Frau Bethmann is radiant according to what I hear. It seems the Chancellor is receiving letters from everywhere, particularly from great commercial centres like Leipzig thanking him for his words . . . and



### *Conservative Views*

promising their support. . . . It is only the Conservative party who remain peevish and say that they can't understand the Chancellor. They are pursuing a relentless war on him. In fact, there is discord everywhere, but the Conservatives are playing a really aggressive rôle. Certainly, each party has the right to express an opinion, but this bitter criticism, this regret at not having had a war, this defiance being expressed with so much lack of tact and their judgement which is so utterly lacking in reason are most dangerous factors which serve the purpose of our enemies. Everything is collapsing and on the edge of a frightful precipice. One doesn't know where one is any more. It makes one quite giddy.

The Moroccan affair isn't finished and the last word is still unspoken. The discussions which are taking place in the committees of the Chambers in Paris and Berlin are showing an irritation on both sides which is not reassuring. The gentlemen of the French Embassy seem to me very worried these days. They are not pleased with their own ministers, with their ignorance and their inability to deal with the situation. Cambon warned his government not to go to Fez, but they went there all the same. Monsieur Cruppi didn't realise the mistake he was about to make. These lawyers don't understand the first thing about Foreign Affairs and they are convinced that when they've chased out the clergy, closed the churches and abolished religious teaching everything's been done and will go on all right.

At the moment people here are talking a lot about prophecies and someone who is quite serious told me yesterday evening that when after 1848 the Crown Prince of Prussia (William I) had been obliged to fly to England he came across a soothsayer who set out to tell him his fortune.

1911]                      *A Prophecy Which Came True*

She asked him to add up the figures of the current year, 1849 to 1849 as follows :

1849
1
8
4
9
<hr/>
1871
<hr/>

making 1871 and told him that on that date he would be crowned German Emperor. Adding it up again the result was 1888. She told him that he would die that year and that his son would also die of hunger a short while afterwards. Finally making him do it again on to the latter figure 1888, this came to 1913 and that this year would see the end of the German Empire.

I confess I see things are going so badly in this country I am tempted to believe that the last prophecy will be realised like both the previous ones.

Last evening I saw some people who appeared to me to be upset about what will happen in the House of Commons in England next Monday and the statement of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

*Berlin, 3rd December, 1911.*

I have read Sir Edward Grey's speech and I found it firm and circumspect. He made it clear from the evidence that Kiderlen had not spoken the truth in his historical account he gave to the Reichstag committee when he assured them that the British Government had put no questions either through their Ambassador or through the German Ambassador in London between the 1st and 21st July. This story reminds one of the famous Ems telegram where the truth

### *Sir Edward Grey's Speech on Morocco*

was likewise twisted by voluntary omissions. Add to this proceeding the method by which the Government here opened the question by the dispatch of the *Panther* and it is natural that people are stupefied at this manner of carrying out diplomatic negotiations which at once renders further relations singularly difficult. It is all deplorable because no-one has any confidence in the German Government any more and nobody believes in its honesty any longer. The first day Sir Edward Grey's speech seemed satisfactory in Berlin. A German newspaper characterised it as follows : "The Minister was amiable to Germany but tender towards France." The next day its significance was more apparent and everybody was furious. The press uttered only one cry. It is as though they wanted war at any price. The Pan-Germanist Party have become more terrible than ever. The Emperor returns only on the 8th. This fortnight's absence is a long time in these troublesome days.

*Berlin, 6th December, 1911.*

Yesterday Bethmann Hollweg spoke again in Parliament and his speech was very warlike against England. Every day one feels hatred against England increases one degree. It's as though in Germany everyone possessed the instinct that this war is necessary. I know positively that the Emperor won't hear the subject mentioned, that he is utterly opposed to the idea, and that he desires an understanding with France. This was told me two days ago by someone who is in very close touch with him and very well informed. I learnt from the same source that the Emperor was opposed to the dispatch of the boat to Agadir but Kiderlen pressed him so hard he ended by giving way. Beside himself with all this pressure he is said to have replied : "Do what you like only leave me alone."

The Emperor is very tired of the policy of his ministers who don't share his ideas. He sees everything becoming worse and worse in spite of all the trouble he gives himself. The Crown Prince's conduct makes him foresee a very black future and he's beginning to exhibit signs of discouragement and demands to be left in peace. I understand this, alas ! but I find it all very sad. Such an energetic nature as his becoming discouraged. It's lamentable.

According to the *Journal de Genève* of December 3rd it was Barrère who made known to Giollitti Germany's intention to seize Cyrenia. Barrère got his information from an English source. Giollitti got on to your Ministers for War and the Marine to learn how long they would require for this expedition and immediately afterwards he went to the King to make him decide. Barrère is said to be making the most stupendous efforts to get Italy to leave the Triple Alliance. I don't know whether this is all true, but there was certainly a great deal of intrigue in Rome in connection with this still obscure matter.

You will have read in the papers what is happening in Vienna and the singular attitude taken up by the Archduke. This isn't reassuring because it's evident he wants war.

*Berlin, 11th December, 1911.*

Bethmann would have done better not to have replied to Sir Edward Grey. I think he did so in view of the elections which will take place in a month's time. In spite of his efforts these elections will turn out very badly. Last night I saw Blücher who predicts the most horrible catastrophes for Germany in the very near future. He has made his son by his second wife a British subject. He is a dangerous fool and no-one wants to greet him any more even at a distance.

The Archduke . . . dreams only of war against Italy from

*The Austrian Heir-to-the-Throne*

whom he would like Austria to snatch all her former possessions and he can't even wait for the death of his uncle before putting himself at the head of the army which he is anxious to command in this hoped-for war. They say he's becoming more obstinate every day, that he's very ignorant about everything, and extraordinarily lacking in manners.

*Berlin, 27th December, 1911.*

Monsieur Boutiron who lives in Florence has written to me that Giollitti said to Sir Rennell Rodd who was talking to him about peace : "We're not in any hurry, we've plenty of soldiers, plenty of money, plenty of enthusiasm and plenty of patience."

This concise formula appeared to please him.

*Berlin, 3rd-4th January, 1912.*

THE talk is all of war. They maintain that England has absolutely set her heart upon it owing to the fact the Kaiser-Wilhelm Canal isn't finished yet and she wants to get the benefit of this and while so many ships are still under construction. It isn't my belief. The whole thing seems to me too silly for words and merely the fruit of diseased imagination. I cannot think that England would take the first steps towards a war with Germany without any good reason for doing so. It is giving her credit for more evil intent than exists in the whole of Great Britain.

Cambon who came to see me on New Year's Day was obliged to leave for Paris yesterday morning owing to upsetting news which he had received. He told me the committee of the Senate wanted him to come and make explanations and he has flatly refused saying that diplomacy would become impossible if they went on like that. . . .

Monsieur Caillaux wanted to gain time by putting the debate off until the 9th January. Unhappily the longer the matter is postponed the more embittered people are and the more thorny things will become.

## *Forthcoming Elections—El Mokri in Berlin*

*Berlin, 8th January, 1912.*

People here are wholly preoccupied with the elections which will take place in five days. Opinions are very divided. Some say they will go much better than they had expected, others declare that a hundred and twenty socialists will turn up. I must admit I count myself among the pessimists and foresee a Parliament bristling with difficulties for the Government. With such a clumsy Chancellor this state of affairs will be dangerous and our Sovereign's person very exposed at times.

We were very intrigued by El Mokri's <sup>1</sup> presence in Berlin. He turned up unawares when no-one expected him and no-one knows what he came here for. His first visit was to the French Embassy. He didn't find Cambon who was still in Paris, but the Counsellor received him with great ceremony and gave him a big lunch. The second El Mokri's arrival was known to the Wilhelmstrasse, they delegated a gentleman from the Foreign Ministry to look after him with orders not to leave him for an instant. They rather give the impression of playing a little game. El Mokri would appear to have sensed this because he left for Paris last night. Cambon returns to Berlin this evening and I am curious to learn his impressions of the moment.

*Berlin, 12th January, 1912.*

Now we have the resignation of the French Cabinet which seems to me a pretty serious thing. It's as though something were out of joint in this republican government. As if they were on the verge of a change of régime in France.

Betka relates what she heard from the Emperor William's own lips when she met him recently at Pless. When the Emperor was in Brussels last year, what was his astonishment

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan of Morocco's Grand Vizier.

when he saw Prince Victor appear. "What ! You here ?" he said to the Prince. "Aren't you afraid of being compromised in the eyes of your countrymen ?" "Oh not in the least," replied the Prince. "Your Majesty should know all my party are for you." And he had a long talk with the Emperor. It appears Prince Victor's wife is going to have a child and if it is a son this will provide a further reason for stimulating the Bonapartist Party, but having a first child at forty will be a terrible business for the poor Princess.

My daughter found the Emperor personally very pacific in his outlook and extremely put out over the warlike sentiments of the Austrian Heir-Apparent. There is an Austrian Admiral who is demanding an increase in the Fleet. He writes letters to the newspapers. All these small indications smell strongly of powder. The *Neue Freie Presse* publishes these scribblings.

*Berlin, 15th-20th January, 1912.*

People are very pre-occupied over the results of the Elections at which the socialists have made terrifying progress. . . . The Conservatives have lost several votes but the Centre remains the same and the Government will have to make this the basis for their majority by consolidating with it what remain of Conservatives, the Poles and the Alsatians. If this would protect the latter from Draconian laws it would be all to the good. The Pan-Germanists have not been successful in spite of their unceasing and frantic efforts which only end by annoying the whole world.

Here it is felt that Kiderlen has not been happy in his choice of the moment to go to Rome. The chilly language of the Italian newspapers need astonish no-one in Berlin, but it's quite certain this indicates a reception in the Eternal City for Kiderlen which will be lacking in enthusiasm. On



### *A Christening and a Muddle*

Berlin terrain they only commit follies nowadays. Clumsiness is becoming proverbial. The paper announces that Jagow is giving a dinner for Kiderlen with San Giuliano and Bülow. . . . The meeting with the latter will be devoid of charm for either.

The attitude of the Austrian Heir-Apparent is becoming more and more disturbing. It is mischiefmaking. He's moving Heaven and Earth to get Aerenthal out of his post and they say he will succeed. He's determined on war with Italy and he exercises great influence over the Austrian Clerical Party whom he uses for his schemes. He is hoping that a war with Italy will re-establish the temporal power of the Pope and believes he's got a mission from Above. They're so frightened in Austria they're redoubling their prayers that Heaven may prolong the days of the aged Emperor indefinitely. The Archduke is coming on the 28th for the baptism of the Crown Prince's fourth son. They asked him to be Godfather. I do hope that the Emperor William will talk firmly to him. This Heir is greatly in need of it.

*Berlin, 28th January, 1912.*

The Austrian Archduke is due to arrive this morning as also the Count of Turin. Pray God that the Emperor will succeed in making him see reason, because he conducts himself like a runaway horse and lets himself go in a manner which is not at all attractive. I know from the most reliable source that he's trying to upset Aerenthal with the help of the Ultramontane Clerical Party which is so powerful in Austria. Aerenthal is against the designs of the Heir and they say his illness has been brought about by the irritation and annoyances which he owes to the latter's opposition.

As regards the Godparents I forgot to tell you there was a fearful muddle. It had been decided that the Queen of

Italy should be asked to be Godmother. The Crown Prince telegraphed from Danzig to Jagow to ask the Queen Mother to do him this kindness. Queen Margherita immediately accepted and requested Pansa to represent her. At the same moment the Crown Princess, who is in Berlin, wrote to Queen Helen with the same request. The latter being ignorant of the steps which had been taken *vis-à-vis* Queen Margherita accepted also and your Court appointed the Count of Turin to represent her. Great embarrassment was the outcome of this confusion and it was decided that both Queens should be Godmothers, but there was a painful moment thanks to this misunderstanding.

*Berlin, 31st January, 1912.*

I have been told Kiderlen has been trying in Rome to make your Government understand the necessity of recognising the religious supremacy of the Sultan in Tripoli as has been done in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If indeed Kiderlen has succeeded in persuading your Government one may hope a great step towards Peace has been taken. The Emperor is longing for its prompt conclusion because he has the greatest difficulty in restraining the Austrian Heir-Apparent who is continually intriguing and would like to profit by your being occupied in Tripoli to attack you. The latter was anxious to avoid a conversation with the Emperor last Sunday, the day of the baptism, and he set off running about museums and paying visits all day. The baptism took place at seven o'clock in the evening and after the ceremony the Emperor took him by the arm and marched him off to a room where they had a *tête-à-tête* which lasted for an hour and a half. At midnight the Archduke boarded his train to leave Berlin. You can guess the subject of the conversation. I don't know whether there will be any sequel.

### *The Emperor's Daughter*

Yesterday Aerenthal was reported to be very ill, to-day they say he's very well. He who laughs last laughs best so write the Archduke's faithful Ultramontanes, and certainly since General Conrad's resignation attacks directed against Aerenthal have been incessant, because he resists the Heir-to-the-Throne's suggestions.

*Berlin, 5th-9th February, 1912.*

They would like the Cumberland son for the Emperor's daughter and so make peace with Hanover.<sup>1</sup> This young Prince is on military service in Bavaria, and his father, the Duke of Cumberland, shirks it and makes it plain that he doesn't want any reconciliation.

You will have read the rather colourless speech from the Throne. The best part of it is its brevity. In spite of all these fine words they think it's war. So long as the war in Tripoli is not ended one fears movements in the Balkans which would be the beginning of a general upheaval. May Heaven preserve us.

What is pre-occupying the Austrian Heir-Apparent most of all is the desire to put his wife on the Throne and assure the succession to the Duchess of Hohenberg's son. This thought would seem even more persistent than his desire to take Venice again and return Rome to the Pope.

*Berlin, 13th-14th February, 1912.*

The Franco-German Agreement has at last been voted by the Senate. This isn't a bad thing. This business of never finishing and always putting this tiresome matter off was an additional irritation for people. We've already got quite enough.

Yesterday I saw the Austrian Ambassador who is in a

<sup>1</sup> See note on "The Hanover Squabble," pp. 347-8.



*H.R.H. Princess Victoria Luise of Prussia,  
now Duchess of Cumberland and Brunswick and Lüneburg*



great state over Aerenthal's illness. They say the latter is on his last legs. The Ambassador said, "His successor will be chosen by the Heir-to-the-Throne. Unhappily the Emperor is tired and asks only to be left in peace. If I know the Archduke his choice has been made a long time ago and he will certainly take someone from outside. He is far from being an idiot but his ignorance is indescribable, he doesn't know a single foreign language and he isn't in the habit of putting himself out but only of doing what suits him. This all makes for trouble as much for Austria as for others."

Someone else told me the Clerics had succeeded by their intrigues in persuading the Archduke that the best way of putting his wife on the Throne would be to re-establish the temporal power of the Pope. I'm telling you what I've heard. Make of it what you like.

Yesterday the Chancellor made a long speech in Parliament on Home Affairs but I doubt if what he said was particularly clever. That worthy man Herr Bethmann possesses a narrowness of outlook which is beyond all limits. His lack of management and address is incredible. The Emperor is really to be pitied at no longer having a real statesman at his side. How I wish he would set himself to work more, but he won't do it. Everything here lacks direction. The Emperor is upset and tired. From morning till night he's on the go. . . . It's quite impossible in spite of his will for him to perform real work. I only wish him well but I would rather he stuck to his task even if it is uncongenial.

*Berlin, 12th February, 1912.*

You will have seen from the papers that the Emperor on the Chancellor's advice refused to receive the Heads of Parliament. I don't know whether the advice was good.

*Count Berchtold—The Powers and Tripoli*

The Emperor submitted, but he would have liked to have received these gentlemen and had a talk.

Count Berchtold who succeeds Aerenthal is an uncle of the Archduke's wife whose grandmother Chotek was a Berchtold by birth. The Heir-to-the-Throne has received orders from his Emperor to represent him at the funeral of this man Aerenthal whom he disliked so much. This won't be pleasant for him. The German Press are chilly about his death and the newspapers are not sparing in criticism of his achievements. I'm rather surprised.

*Berlin, 25th February, 1932.*

We're always lacking guidance here. Bethmann is incompetent and the Emperor doesn't trouble. Since he finds that he is unable to rush situations and carry them off with flag flying the Emperor is filled with disgust and lets things go. It's a great pity. At the moment he thinks only of fleeing from Germany and wants to go off to Corfu on March 20th. I ask myself how he can do it. With a socialistic Parliament it doesn't seem to me an opportune moment for going off and leaving his country for several weeks. Here people are not pleased and this doesn't make for popularity. If socialism is a danger our Lord and Master deserting us in the hour of danger is not approved.

*Berlin, 8th March, 1912.*

People talk about nothing but the ardent desire of the Powers to see the end of your war and the futile steps which they are taking to achieve this. The Emperor's interview with your King will certainly take place after Pola where he expects to meet the Austrian Archduke. The Emperor is putting forth all his efforts more and more to restrain the warlike aspirations of this man towards Italy. They say



*raf Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister*





1912]

*Luncheon with the Emperor*

that a mild rapprochement between Austria and Russia has resulted therefrom.

*Berlin, 12th March, 1912.*

Last Saturday I lunched with the Emperor. I found him quiet, looking tired but thinking only of going off. One notices everything that's happening here displeases him. He has no inclination to interfere and would rather be elsewhere. He spoke to me about your war. He said, "One would like peace, but both countries should want it equally and this is not the case." He added that he would be having an interview with your King in Venice. He finds it incredible the English Cabinet took no precautions to prevent the present strike as they were warned beforehand. He says that there's still plenty of coal in Germany and nothing to fear. None-the-less the coal industry in Germany is also threatened with a strike but the Emperor doesn't seem to envisage this possibility.

The Empress who looks perfectly ghastly is terribly worried about this journey. She finds it unreasonable and only repeats, "It's so far, so far." She's quite right. In fact there's considerable confusion in the Palace. Each morning the Emperor goes to the Chancellor's house, gobbles up a piece of cake and has a glass of port and while he's smoking a cigarette Herr Bethmann makes him acquainted with events. Apart from this he sees no other ministers, and doesn't read the newspapers. The morning is spent in comings and goings and the afternoons at the Opera attending rehearsals of pieces which he organises and arranges according to his own taste. One tries to console oneself with the thought his successor will be still more frivolous and that things will be even worse than they are at present.

My daughter Betka who is in London writes me : "Here

*An Attempt on the Life of King Victor Emanuel*

the miners' strike continues and everyone is very upset except the Government, which has only one idea, that of remaining in power at all costs. To-day we lunched with Mrs. Cornwallis-West and her son Winston Churchill, the most radical of the ministers. In spite of this he was most interesting but much put out at the behaviour of the suffragettes. It seems the Prince of Wales is going to spend three months in Paris to learn French. He's to be put up at the Marquis de Breteuil's with a tutor. . . ."

The Emperor is to dine on the 19th of this month at the French Embassy. He wants to show a little politeness to Cambon after the difficult Morocco negotiations.

*Berlin, 16th March, 1912.*

What a dreadful thing this attempt on your King ! The man would seem to be a raw youth, without accomplices they say, but this fact is no mitigation. At such a difficult moment for your country this sort of thing is worse than unpardonable.

Your King exhibited much coolness and I am sure this event will only enhance the affection of the Italians for the House of Savoy. . . . But last night I heard an odd point of view. "We shall see whether the warlike enthusiasm about which we hear so much is really the case in Italy and whether it isn't hatred of war which inspired the assassin." This is what I heard from the mouths of several of the gentlemen of the Court with whom I dined at the Danish Minister's House. Their tone struck me and I said to myself that it foreboded an unfriendly tendency towards Italy in our ruling spheres.

They say the Pope wanted to have a demonstration in this connection but that his circle prevented it. Oh if only he'd followed his first inclination which is so often the best !

But courtiers are always everywhere the same, dreary and uninspiring. I don't like to say too much about the Vatican but I feel this about Berlin where I am better able to form an opinion.

The mediation of the Powers for peace between Italy and Turkey is rendered impotent from the first, but here they have great doubts about Russia's sincerity and Tcharikow's recall<sup>1</sup> has put everyone on guard. Does Russia which ever since the reign of Catherine the Great has dreamed only of the possession of Constantinople find the present moment propitious for sending her Black Sea Fleet into the Bosphorous in connivance with Italy who would simultaneously force the Dardanelles? This is the first thought which everyone has here and one sees reflected in the Press. I don't know whether there is any justification for such an idea.

*Berlin, 20th March, 1912.*

We are worried about the situation and one hopes the Emperor has been dissuaded from going to Corfu. It was pointed out to him that at a time when the Westphalian mines were striking and occupied by troops it would be a mistake to go far afield leaving his country in the hands of God. It was further explained that he would be putting himself in an awkward position by first of all paying a visit to your King in Venice and then going on to Corfu from where he could almost touch the Turkish coast with his hand. They also told him that the King of England had given up all his visits to foreign Courts on account of the strikes. Briefly, he was provided with a host of arguments of this nature which should give him cause for reflection. Naturally the Emperor who can't endure being thwarted is in a filthy temper and I tremble to think of what he will

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Tripoli," pp. 381-3.

*Strikes in England—Mrs. Asquith*

do at the French Embassy where he's dining to-night. He's already banished all the ladies as he only wants men and he has further objected to scenes which were to be acted by players from the Comédie Française whom Cambon had coming specially from Paris. All this exhibits a lack of friendly feeling and Cambon said to me last night : "How I wish it were the day after to-morrow."

Betka writes me from Paris :

"We left London at two o'clock by the only train running between London and Folkestone. It was crammed with people. The strike is making itself felt more every day. All the factories are obliged to shut down owing to shortage of coal and the workmen are without employment or wages. Every day their numbers increase. Already there are a million unemployed. The strikers still have funds but the others haven't and the danger increases with the distress. On Friday we lunched with the Asquiths. . . . I was struck by the demeanour of all these gentlemen of the Government. It's another world and with such advanced ideas they make one tremble. When I said to Mrs. Asquith that I had heard the day before that they had warned the King that the situation was becoming critical, she replied raising her shoulders : "Heavens above, who's going to attack King George !" Asquith has an intelligent head. . . . He finds that the strike is quite right and admires the behaviour of the strikers. One of the leading suffragettes, Lady Frances Balfour, was at lunch. You haven't an idea what she's like nor of the funny opinions she holds.

"Then we only just missed having a serious accident at sea, there was a terrible collision in the Channel between a liner and a sailing-ship. At last here we are safe and sound and I have a feeling of far greater security since I arrived in this Republic !"

1912] *Confusion at Berlin—A Speech by Churchill*

What an extraordinary thing and how the world is upside-down! Some gentlemen came round to see me after the dinner at the French Embassy. All passed off very well and even the Emperor was in a good temper. This was to be accounted for as he had overcome all his difficulties and is definitely going to Corfu. As soon as he knew that the French actors were there and that they would go away very depressed because of his refusal to see them he immediately commanded that they should play, and instead of leaving directly after dinner as he had intended, he left the Embassy at midnight after having heard Musset's "Caprice" and several other small pieces.

This morning the papers talk of Kiderlen's resignation and are also alluding to Bethmann's forthcoming departure, but I think these announcements are premature.

*Berlin, 23rd March, 1912.*

I am not sorry to be leaving Berlin where things are not at all as they should be. The most incredible confusion reigns in our political spheres. It is quite definite that the Chancellor has twice handed in his resignation and Kiderlen has done likewise, but the Emperor has put everything off until his return from Corfu. He wouldn't give up this trip for anything in the world. He heeded no prayer or entreaty, he wouldn't listen to any advice and after I don't know how many countermands the departure was effected the evening of the day before yesterday. But if the storm didn't burst last Tuesday as was expected it is still on the horizon. The air is terribly heavy and the crisis is only adjourned.

Churchill's speech was considered provocative by the whole German Press but in our leading political circles Bethmann inclines towards an Anglo-German understanding whereas Admiral Tirpitz is out for the utmost naval armaments.

### *Bethmann's Fatigue—Rome*

This rivalry between these two marks only too painfully the lack of unison in direction of our policy here. They say that Admiral Tirpitz is an excellent sailor but not clever. If this were not the case he might perhaps have been our next Chancellor. Bethmann is at the end of his strength morally and physically. He can't carry on. He is changing even as one looks at him. The other day at dinner at the French Embassy everyone was struck by his seedy appearance. He said to someone : "I can't understand how Bülow managed to endure such a diet for eleven years." It is clear the worthy Bethmann takes things more to heart than Bülow and he will die if he's got to bear the weight of responsibility much longer. Someone said to me : "It isn't only until after Corfu that the Emperor has put off the crisis, this will go on till after the Kiel Regatta because he cannot give up a single one of his pleasures." The street crowd were wild in their applause of the Crown Prince the day of the departure, whereas they remained silent during the passage of his august father. A bad sign.

*Rome, 14th April, 1912.*

I've had a long visit from Bülow, more brilliant than ever in his conversation. I found him all the same aged externally and he seemed to me to feel a certain bitterness which was absent a year ago. Perhaps he had hopes of returning which have now evaporated. His memory is prodigious and he quotes entire passages from Taine, Chateaubriand, and Mirabeau which renders his conversation very sparkling. He talked a lot about the hundred and ten Socialists in our present parliament and the slackness of our princes who are incapable of making the very smallest sacrifice to remedy the formers' disastrous influence. He reminded me of the night of August 4th, 1789, when the French nobility rejected their privileges

1912]      *Bülow—Pius X—Cardinal Merry del Val*

and he said quite rightly, "Then it was too late, it should have been done when Turgot was Minister," and he added, "Fortunately our Berlin Socialists hesitate and can't find a leader." I replied that they'd got the former minister Posadowski who would ask for nothing better than to be at their head. "How right you are," answered Bülow, "I believe this is his deepest wish, only he doesn't want to go too fast."

*Rome, 18th April, 1912.*

Yesterday morning I went and saw the Pope accompanied by Hubert Lubomirski. His Holiness received us with the greatest possible kindness, enquired after our families and said he would give me his blessing for all my children. I thought he looked thinner and they say he suffers from gout. He has made great progress in French, he talks better and more fluently. One is struck by the atmosphere of sanctity which surrounds his person and his intense goodness, but he seems tired in spite of the serenity of his expression. Immediately afterwards I looked in on Cardinal Merry del Val who received me with the friendliness of a person of genuine distinction. What a splendid Prince of the Church. He speaks all languages in the most charming way. The Cardinal kept me for a quarter of an hour, then he dismissed us because he had to preside at a Council. In passing the Council Chamber one noticed prelates, priests and Cardinals who were to take part sitting round an immense table covered with a green cloth. We weren't told anything out of the way but the spiritual grandeur which enshrouds this incomparable palace is terribly imposing. The crowds pressing in the halls merely to obtain the Head of the Church's blessing from a distance proves the strength and universality of Catholicism. One hears every language spoken. It was a wonderful moment and I shan't forget it.



*Marschall von Bieberstein for London*

*Paris, 13th-14th May, 1912.*

I am rather anxious about the happenings at Karlsruhe last Saturday. I haven't got any news yet but a meeting of that sort implies something serious. I can't conceive how Marschall accepted the London post. He had reached the end of his career and must have aspired only to be allowed to rest. In London he will find a cool head in Paul Cambon. *The Times* article makes it perfectly plain that they're making a mistake in Berlin if they think they can detach England from her entente with France.

The English think above all of what will be of greatest advantage to themselves. One can be sure of that. In Paris they're very preoccupied with Morocco. Everyone is asking how the difficulty can be got over without sending a hundred thousand men there which would weaken the army in France. Germany would be able to profit by this and fall upon her prey. In Berlin they are voting an increase in the army to the formidable figure of seven hundred thousand without taking into consideration the sacrifice in cash this will cost the Nation or enquiring whether the man exists who will be capable of commanding the formidable army which will result.

It is a positively terrifying want of foresight. You have read about all the aviation failures at Strasburg. This must have annoyed them very much and just at the moment of the Emperor's arrival too. The *Berliner Tageblatt* says that people are making much too much of a to-do over Marschall's appointment to London which will make his mission more difficult. . . .

*Paris, 17th May, 1912.*

All Paris has been knocked flat by the Emperor's words at Strasburg. He certainly couldn't have made a more suc-

cessful gaffe than that one. He has wounded the Alsatians in their most tender spot, offended the French over something they cannot forget and exasperated the whole of Germany. He shouldn't forget that Alsace-Lorraine is the connecting-link between North and South Germany and that interference there would spell the disorganisation of the Empire. Certainly everything is working towards bringing about this disorganisation. I've had my eye on it for a long time. What a state Bethmann must be in ! The poor man will have a heart-attack which needn't astonish him and how Bülow must be rubbing his hands in the Villa Malta at not having any more cares ! With such a master things are becoming impossible.

The German Press has really prejudiced Marschall's position in London. You will have read the eulogistic articles formulating his policy for him. The English are replying by a fresh naval law as a counter to Germany's which has just been voted in Parliament for increasing her fleet, and as *Lord Churchill* (Winston) has said this will always be the case so long as Germany goes on increasing hers. One has to go back a long way to discover the beginnings of all the faults of this reign. The famous Krüger telegram marked the début and England will never forgive William II for this.

I saw Raindre who told me Germany had rendered France a great service last Summer. The Agadir boat and Moroccan threats woke up patriotic feeling. Everyone said to himself : "We are threatened, we must be ready and so we shall, if we are attacked. We were asleep believing war was impossible nowadays, but now we see this isn't so, we are determined to build up our army as much as we possibly can."

It seems that Millerand is a splendid War Minister. He

*Spectre of War—Francis Joseph's Temper*

is admired by all parties and he is putting forth all his efforts to train the Army and make a splash which isn't difficult with the French.

It appears that Poincaré is disposed to go to St. Petersburg where they have been pressing him to come. And England is emphasising her loyalty in her newspapers. It's all danger signals. The spectre of universal war begins to show itself everywhere.

I have just been reading about the scene in the German Parliament over the Emperor's speech. He was terribly attacked by the Socialists. The Chancellor defended his Monarch as best he could. . . . The members were chilly and the Sovereign's prestige seems to me to be down. It was only to be expected and things will be worse yet. You will see where Germany will be in a year's time. She is on a slippery slope.

*Paris, 21st-22nd May, 1912.*

They write me from Vienna, "The Emperor no longer leaves Schönbrunn, no more gives audiences and only receives his ministers because he can't do otherwise. Affairs in Hungary are very unsatisfactory and this puts him in a very bad temper. And he's quite indifferent about his granddaughter, the Archduchess Valerie's eldest girl marrying a Count von Walburg-Zeil, a soldier and tutor to her brothers, and highly sponsored by the Jesuits. People are very busy over the Eucharistic Congress which will take place September 12th to 15th. There will be more than twenty thousand priests and the Cardinal is going to say Mass from the top of the Burg. All the Archduchesses are busying themselves about it. The Archduke Franz and his wife have placed themselves at the head of the movement. They are now at home in the country in Bohemia. The Archduke

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*Franz Ferdinand Sulks—Paris*

is sulky with the Emperor and doesn't want to come to Vienna. The Ministers are on edge not knowing whom to 'obey.' "

Last night my nephew Boni seemed disturbed about Morocco. He said he believed that they would be obliged to dispatch two hundred thousand men there which would denude the Eastern frontier most terribly at a time when they are saying out loud in Germany they must make War and that this time they want twenty milliards and four of France's other provinces. How modest !! But I really have heard it said often in Berlin. The Pan-Germanists are afraid of nothing, not even their own impertinence !

*Paris, 25th-26th May, 1912.*

I've seen lots more people here since my last letter. . . . I must say I have been struck this time by the change in public spirit which has manifested itself these last months. They have felt that one might—in fact should—expect surprises and the martial spirit of the country has been aroused thereby. No more anti-militarism. . . . An officer's prestige is mounting and everyone is proud of his uniform. "They will fight well," Hanotaux said to me the other day, "if we are attacked, but it isn't we who will be the first to attack, we're waiting."

In the Chamber they want to vote a national fête for Joan of Arc. A couple of years ago this would have raised a tempest. They are less hard on the Clergy. . . . Briefly, they feel they've gone too far and it would be a good thing to return gradually to a state of affairs which it was foolish to have given up. Every Saturday night there are military doings in Paris, marching with music and enormous crowds following and cheering. I am leaving Paris to-morrow at mid-day.

## *Karlsruhe—The Good Grand Duchess*

*Karlsruhe, 29th May, 1912.*

I had a good journey from Paris the day before yesterday. I was received with open arms by the good and gracious Grand Duchess at ten at night.

Yesterday was one continual conversation which didn't do my tired throat any too much good. I have noticed that Princes, even the more enlightened, are always in the dark as to what is happening and that they are given a mass of the most extraordinary reasons to explain the Government's activities. Thus the Grand Duchess has got it into her head the formation of two additional army corps was absolutely necessary owing to the growth of the population. This increase cannot be due to bigger families because these have decreased considerably in recent years but is the result of measures which permit a whole mass of seedy people to enjoy the benefits of improved treatment without which many would have died in early youth. According to the Grand Duchess not even two new army corps are sufficient. There ought to be four. She doesn't think of the burden it will be to us. Other people's money doesn't count for the great ones of this world. It also seemed to me that the Grand Duchess was not altogether too pleased with the Emperor's last visit. She told me he seemed very well and enchanted with Corfu where he had had a restful time. But she added that it had been extremely difficult to converse with him because he talked all the time, wouldn't wait for answers and didn't hear questions which were put to him. Which all means that she was unable to give him the advice to which she had been so looking forward! What seems to me most odd is that the Emperor should have spoken exactly in the same words to the Grand Duchess and her entourage as he used at Strasburg two days later which so

wounded the Alsatians. After this I can't help feeling secretly convinced his speech had been prepared in advance and was neither impromptu nor a momentary outburst of passion as is generally supposed.

I found the Queen of Sweden here with her mother. She has just returned from Capri where she sometimes spends the winter for health. The Grand Duchess is distressed over the terrible death of the eldest Cumberland boy. This young man had a passion for motoring and on the fatal day he was doing seventy miles an hour. Owing to carelessness he collided with a tree. His aide-de-camp who was flung out is dead and the Prince who was underneath was crushed to pieces head and body, impossible to recognise him. What also struck her is that this accident happened not far from Berlin and that the Prince's body was escorted by Prussian Hussars by order of the Emperor. . . .

The Grand Duchess is convinced that Marschall will re-establish the best relations with Great Britain and appease the whole of Europe. I can scarcely credit this alas ! But if he brings us peace Marschall shall have my best wishes.

*Kleinitz, 3rd June, 1912.*

I learned in Berlin that Marschall's appointment to London was the outcome of a base intrigue of Herr von Wangenheim the German Minister in Athens. It seems he spent some time with the Emperor at Corfu and made the most of his opportunity to have long conversations with his Sovereign on the general political situation. He thus tried to convince the latter that in order to bring about better relations with England another Ambassador should be sent over and that he was able to conceive of no-one better than Marschall for fulfilling this mission and detaching England from France. He added it would be quite simple to find an Ambassador

### *A Norwegian Cruise*

for Constantinople and that he himself who had been Counsellor there under Marschall for many years knew all the ropes, etc. Wangenheim's talks bore fruit. The Emperor determined to make a change forthwith. He wished everything to be settled as soon as he reached German territory and made Bethmann come to Karlsruhe where he signed these new appointments. All this happened without Kiderlen's being informed and as the latter had reserved the Constantinople post for himself he was dreadfully disappointed and snarling. Kiderlen discovering that he isn't the second Bismarck as he has told everybody now finds himself in an impasse. He would like to relinquish his post seeing what little confidence he inspires in the Emperor, and now Constantinople has eluded him he doesn't know what he wants.

*Kleinitz, 7th June, 1912.*

The Emperor seems to have settled his departure for Norway. He really must know that country by heart and he would do better to remain quietly in his own. If one wishes to direct everything personally oneself as he does one requires greater stability. It isn't by being always on the go that one can get to the bottom of things even if one should happen to be very quick at sizing things up. My neighbour Princess Reuss who came to see me said the Emperor going off as he does was a very good thing because in this way he is less of a torment to his ministers who are rather getting to the end of their patience. The Princess, whose mother is a Princess of Orange, as a German, is very offended at the Queen of Holland's toast in Paris in which the Sovereign said how proud she was of the French blood in her veins.

In Berlin they are awaiting the visit from the King and Queen of Bulgaria to be followed by one from the King of Montenegro. This new Kingdom appears to me very ridiculous.

*Kleinitz, 10th-11th June, 1912.*

I have received a letter from Vienna, here are a few passages :

"The Corpus Christi procession took place this morning. The Emperor was present after an interval of three years. It was appallingly hot and one wonders whether this marching about in the sun without a hat has done the Emperor any good. At the present moment he is astonishingly well and those few who see him find his intellect wonderfully fresh. He went in person to the railway station to fetch the King of Bulgaria and he gave a big dinner for him at Schönbrunn where he gave a toast in firm and sonorous tones. The text had been prepared in the Ministry but the Emperor altered the words 'extreme pleasure' to 'real pleasure' which shows that he still knows more French than the others. He is certainly the last remaining Sovereign who knows how to reign and who lives only to carry out his duty. When he has disappeared all monarchical tradition will go with him.

"The Heir-Apparent and the Duchess of Hohenberg have come back enchanted with their stay in England. The Archduke who detested everything English now swears by it. They were completely captivated by the charm of the King and Queen because they were the first to visit his wife and they invited both of them to an intimate luncheon at which they were only four. All would be well if the Archduke didn't have these infatuations which unfortunately change every minute. The King of Bulgaria who is clever and artful had the happy thought of heaping magnificent presents on the Archducal children which instantly altered the latter's sentiments towards the Bulgarians."

I have had a letter from Berlin which tells me of Greindl's



*Betka at Ascot and Windsor*

departure. He is inconsolable. They are worried about the Empress and fear she may have kidney disease. À propos of the Queen of Holland who said she was so proud of having French blood in her veins, the German papers have replied by saying that the German Emperor had as much as she. Poor Coligny must be amused by it all from his seat in the other world.

Frau Schwabach writes me that the King of Bulgaria enchanted everyone in Berlin whereas the Queen gave the impression of a small provincial woman. I imagine Ferdinand must have employed all his cunning to impose on them.

*Kleinitz, 27th June, 1912.*

Here is a letter from my daughter Betka dated Windsor which is quite amusing: "We went to Ascot from White Lodge three times for the races. I have seen Their Majesties and I lunched with them in their stand. They very kindly invited me to come to Windsor to see the castle which I didn't know and to dine with them to-day for the Prince of Wales' birthday. Dinner was wonderful, forty at table, gold plate, etc. Princess Christian who asked news of you sat on the King's right and I had the honour of sitting on his left. The Queen sat in front between the Khedive of Egypt and the Prince of Wales. The King talked a lot and I found him extremely amiable. He is to receive Marschall to-morrow. Here they are afraid the latter will intrigue with the Press and they appear to be rather mistrustful of him. The King said he much regretted parting from Metternich who had shown great tact in recent times."

Politics are very stagnant. The German Press elects to see extraordinary things in the meeting of the two Emperors in Finnish waters which was arranged only as a countermove to Poincaré's coming visit to Petersburg.

*Kleinitz, 5th July, 1912.*

The German papers are very excited over the interview in Finnish waters. They are trying to persuade the public that this time the meeting between the two Sovereigns is going to put an end to the Franco-Russian alliance and they hint that Prince Adalbert who is in his father's suite is about to become engaged to one of the Czar's daughters. I think this is only the Press's imagination because the Prince would not be an eligible person for the Czar's eldest daughter. He is only the third son, has very little money and would not be able to offer a good position to a princess of her sort.

As regards what they are saying in Italy about France's difficulties with Spain over Morocco I can believe this because I heard a lot of talk about it in Paris. They maintained that Germany was behind Spain which wouldn't surprise me because of the attitude of the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin whom I particularly noticed all last winter. He wouldn't budge from the Foreign Ministry, looked mysterious, and appeared to be constantly on the watch.

*Kleinitz, 9th July, 1912.*

Since you left Berlin the moral changes in Germany have been considerable, customs have taken a detestable turn. The nobility no longer care for the army as a career, honesty is at a discount, religion nothing more than hatred of the Protestants for the Catholics. North Germany is more separated than ever from the South, there is no longer the same respect for the Sovereign not even among the Conservatives. The Socialist Party is every year becoming larger, either owing to taxation or on account of the bad management of our finances. Briefly, this new spirit is gradually bringing the country to a crisis which everyone feels and which can't be delayed. Everybody is anxious and one hears it being

*Colonel Pellet*

said everywhere, "Things can't go on like this." What is quite certain is that by their desire to dominate and be supreme the German Government and the Germans have made themselves disliked by everyone and mistrusted generally. If you lived as I do in the centre of it all I think you would say with me, "Things can't go on like this." The Nation is far too sick and it won't be the young princes who will bring about a cure.

I am convinced that nothing of importance has been decided at the interview of the two Emperors. Amiabilitys will have been exchanged but each will have retained his point of view and nothing altered.

*Kleinitz, 13th July, 1912.*

Colonel Pellet came and spent twenty-four hours here. He is off to command a regiment of artillery at Nancy and is very pleased about it. He is a splendid person, a charming speaker, cultured, informed about everything, and as correct as he is pleasant. He often came to my evening receptions in Berlin and I much regret his departure. The Colonel mentioned that Kiderlen was very disappointed at not being asked to accompany the Emperor on his visit to the Czar. I can understand this and I believe Kiderlen would be happy to find a way of escape which would conceal his disgrace, for it is a disgrace.

Schoen is not being a success at Paris so if he went away there would be changes in the German Diplomatic Service and Kiderlen might perhaps get something to his taste.

At Berlin people are delighted over the results of the interview with the Czar at a moment when the report of the Mediterranean entente between France, Great Britain and Italy was upsetting Germany. Then again Prince Adalbert's marriage hasn't come to anything. It appears amongst other

things that the Czar's daughter is secretly engaged to the son of the Grand Duke Paul. Thus discomfitures have not been lacking.

The Franco-Russian naval convention is a capital reply to the Baltic visit. I should like to know what is the object of these frequent visits of the German Emperor to the Russian. The visits are never returned and in my opinion these advances are devoid of any dignity. Our Sovereign would do better to stay at home keeping quiet and working harder. He should remember that France having placed seventeen milliards in Russia it won't be easy to upset the alliance. Money is a solid bond which will oblige both Powers to remain united. Germany could only succeed by inspiring confidence, but as just the opposite is happening and mistrust increasing every day, mere visits do not suffice to restore confidence and it would be better to give them up in spite of any personal charm one might hope to contribute.

I've had a letter from Colonel Pellet this morning from Berlin in which I find the following : "Poor Turkey seems about to decompose altogether. News of her becomes worse and worse but the diplomats are carrying out a policy of futility and letting things go. In all events Germany seems determined to profit from the fact that she has no direct interest in the Question, lets others do the talking and doing and is keeping the last word for herself, I think it very likely; for analogous if not the same reasons we shall maintain an equal reserve."

*Kleinitz, 9th-13th August, 1912.*

The Berlin newspapers are in a poisonous humour. They had been so triumphant over the Baltic interview that they are very hard put to it to explain the new Franco-Russian convention about the navy. One must admit the answer is

*Poincaré goes to St. Petersburg*

difficult and I can well understand the mortification felt by the German Government. The Russian Baltic Fleet has still to be built but once the Dardanelles are open to Russian ships of war the situation will be very different, and the convention will acquire a certain significance. Events in Turkey become more and more enigmatic. One would say that things were all going to pieces and anarchy increasing.

It seems to me that no Sovereign has ever been received like Monsieur Poincaré at St. Petersburg. It must all have some meaning the precise shade of which is not quite clear to me. These demonstrations were made to make Germany think. The honours rendered to the "Condé" by the German Fleet during her passage through the Baltic Sea were doubtless due to the Emperor's orders. But was it not quite useless? The Koran says that speech is silver and silence gold. In the circumstances one might have put this precept into practice. One should never do too much.

Often I ask myself whether the Germans and the Emperor himself understand all the bitterness which has remained at the bottom of every French heart and whether they realise that childish practices of this sort won't cure it. Germans change their nationality and their country so frequently and so easily that they are unable to judge of other peoples' feelings.

*Kleinitz, 26th August, 1912.*

I think these few lines from a letter from my eldest daughter will interest you: "According to what people are saying here Poincaré's journey to Petersburg and Sazanow's contemplated visit to London are causing great anxiety to the Triple Alliance and it is this which decided Berchtold to

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*Tripoli—A Suggested Conference*

suggest a conference. This has been accepted by all the Powers but will have no practical result except to remind Europe that Austria still exists, because here they were beginning to be furious that Balkan questions should be discussed between France and Russia over Austria's head. Meanwhile our Emperor has finished his eighty-second year in the most brilliant health. It seems he has never been better. He shoots, climbs mountains without even using a stick and he gallops about on a pony. There you have the results of a well-regulated life and his care-free spirits."

In the meanwhile things are moving curiously. Behind the courteous reception accorded by the Powers to Austria's *démarche* one feels that it is not wanted, that Italy is displeased about it, that Germany finds the proposal inopportune, that Russia mistrusts it, that England doesn't wish to upset Turkey and that France will do nothing without first coming to an agreement with Russia and England. In spite of all they talk only of Peace, whether negotiations take place in Switzerland, Paris or Austria. In fact, there is considerable divergence on this point; one cannot conceive how people can think of negotiations being conducted in this way, and I imagine it is only the brains of the Press which are negotiating to fill their papers with news which they have invented.

From Berlin they write me that the Empress is causing anxiety and that the Crown Prince is being brought back to Potsdam to pacify her. He will be very happy to leave Danzig where he is more bored than ever.

*Kleinitz, 29th August, 1912.*

The newspapers give us a poor picture of the state of Europe. In Morocco annoyances for the French are increasing and it seems Germany is behind to fan the flames. They will be obliged to send more troops and so denude France

### *Father and Son*

of the strength so necessary for impressing Germany. It makes a bad impression on me.

The Emperor is ill. He can't go to the big manœuvres which are taking place in Saxony this year. One asks whether he will be able to undertake his journey to Switzerland for which great preparations have been made. I fancy there have been battles with the Empress who particularly wished for the Crown Prince's withdrawal from Danzig and an end to this paternal punishment. After all that had happened the punishment was well deserved and I doubt whether the Empress is right in desiring a reconciliation which might cause bickerings. . . . The fact is the Crown Prince is to be given command of a regiment at Potsdam when the manœuvres are over. I cannot really believe the Emperor has been suffering from articular rheumatism because his illness has lasted only three days whereas that disease keeps one glued to bed for at least six weeks. The paper said this morning he had already had more than an hour's walk in the park at Wilhelmshöhe. In spite of all his misdeeds he has so many good qualities I wish him a long life. . . .

The German papers continue to print incredible phantasies about your peace negotiations and the concessions you are disposed to make. The Turks don't seem to be particularly enchanted with Berchtold's proposal which they have quite politely treated in a high-handed way. They're astonishing, those people !

The Emperor has returned to Berlin looking perfectly well without a trace of his recent indisposition. It seems he's going to Mainau after Switzerland to see the Grand Duchess of Baden before he resumes his life at Potsdam. In the meantime Dresden must have much regretted his absence. They had made great preparations there to receive him and everyone regrets the useless expenditure.

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*Italo-Turkish Peace Pourparlers*

*Kleinitz, 5th-10th September, 1912.*

I don't know whether your papers will give the Emperor's latest speech through the mouth of Pastor Wölffing on the anniversary of Sedan. I am adding it to this letter. It expresses very well the sadness and discouragement which have taken possession of the Emperor's heart these last years. I have no doubt these sad thoughts have caused a sort of internal havoc which makes him suffer morally. And certainly a great change has been taking place in him for some years. The Germans are not made to understand his ardent nature so full of spontaneity and their present Sovereign doesn't suit them although his qualities go to make up an individual of whom they might be proud.

The papers maintain that peace pourparlers between Italy and Turkey are taking place on neutral territory in Switzerland in a different place every day thanks to motor-cars and they give an impression of knowing a great deal about it all.

I am told the Emperor is very pleased with the Swiss manoeuvres and his reception everywhere, but the illustrated Berlin papers have been incredible. They have published photographs of generals, aides-de-camp of the Emperor, dying with laughter and making the greatest fun of the Swiss soldiers on the march. It is this kind of thing which is such bad manners and gives the Emperor such a bad name.

*Kleinitz, 14th September, 1912.*

On his way back from Switzerland the Emperor passed through Saxony where they executed a grandiose passage of the Elbe. Balloons and airmen also took part but as usual without much effect. It is rather amusing at the French manoeuvres they did practically the same thing crossing the Loire near Saumur. The Emperor has presented the King of Saxony with the bâton of a Field-Marshal ! Formerly this



### *General Lyautey in Morocco*

was only given after a battle had been won. Times are very different.

They have entered the town of Marrakesh in Morocco, but the French are not remaining there, they are camping outside the walls and General Lyautey is asking for reinforcements which makes it appear as if Mangin's victory has not been so substantial as was at first believed. Many Frenchmen are distressed at seeing all these soldiers leaving France for Morocco. . . . The language of the Pan-Germanists is really terrible. Hearing them one would think they were ogres.

*Kleinitz, 22nd-26th September, 1912.*

The concentration of the French Fleet in the Mediterranean is preventing the entire German Press from sleeping and their tone is not calculated to have a calming effect upon Europe. In France they are according great honours to the Grand Duke Nicholas and his wife. They escorted them as far as the German frontier in French Lorraine. They will rage all the more in Berlin where Sazanow's journey to London and Paris is already causing intense irritation.

Baron Marschall's death has caused consternation in Germany. All hopes had been centred on him. He is celebrated with his great reputation which his change of posture has not impaired. People are already very preoccupied in waiting for his successor. The *Tageblatt* says this will be Kiderlen. I must confess I hope not. His brusqueness and vulgarity would not be tolerated in England. In any case it's one more worry for the Emperor who is stag-hunting in Prussia.

*Kleinitz, 30th September, 1912.*

They are thinking a lot about Marschall's successor in London. They write me that this will probably be Prince

Lichnowski or Prince Hatzfeldt who spent some years there where his father was Ambassador. I am hoping the choice will fall on the latter because he is an excellent person and talented. He married a *fräulein* Stumm. She's pretty, charming and would make a splendid Ambassadress. I should be rather afraid of Prince and Princess Lichnowski. He is brusque and not very polite although he's clever. His wife was born Arco, a Bavarian without particular distinction. The newspapers smell dreadfully of powder these days. The Bulgarians appear to be out for war and Berchtold shows himself a great pessimist. The Turks remain impassive and are afraid of nothing.

*Kleinitz, 4th October, 1912.*

I have just read in the paper the new declaration of war addressed to Turkey.<sup>1</sup> The fall on the Berlin Bourse has been colossal and consternation reigns everywhere in Europe owing to this bellicose smoke emanating from the Balkans. Let us hope that this won't lead to a general conflict. I'm terribly afraid of this. Whilst these grave events are taking place our august Sovereign continues to pursue the stag. It's the season they say, but it has a most deplorable effect on the public who cannot understand his indifference. Austria is playing a double rôle. It was she who opened fire by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina four years ago, and because she wants to install herself at Salonica one day she is egging on the Bulgarians to take Macedonia, the Servians Greater Serbia and the Montenegrins Albania, while all the time preserving the most sanctimonious airs. One may well speak thus because it isn't to save the Christians from the hands of the Turks that all these Governments are agitating but solely to satisfy their greedy ambitions. They say that everybody in

<sup>1</sup> See note on "The First Balkan War," pp. 383-6.

### *Outbreak of the First Balkan War*

Austria and particularly the Heir-Apparent wants war. The Emperor Francis Joseph is the only one against. This was told me by the Dominic Radziwills who live in Galicia and who arrived here to-day.

*Kleinitz, 8th October, 1912.*

One is still suspended between war and peace, and I have the feeling guns might go off by themselves the situation is so tense. People maintain circumstances might draw France and Germany closer together which would be a miracle. It is to be hoped you in Italy will be able to make a good peace because the Austrians with the Archduke at their head would cut out your work for you.

*Kleinitz, 12th-16th October, 1912.*

War has begun and Montenegro is the spark which the small Balkan States have struck to ignite the powder. All the European Bourses are continually falling and one cannot pretend that we are not passing through a crisis of unquestioned gravity. Someone wrote me yesterday that we must pin our hopes to the wisdom of the governments who are wise in self-interest, which is certainly the best reason for being so. Let us hope. I think that to-morrow I shall know something on the subject of your peace because to-night should see the end of the reprieve which you have allowed the Turks. I find it astonishing of Turkey not to be afraid of a struggle with all the world because it is certain that war in the Balkans cannot remain localised and I do nothing but ask myself whether we shan't see in 1913 the long dreaded conflict between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente.

The newspaper which I got this morning says that France is proposing a Conference; in my opinion this would be but

1912]      *Turks Sign Peace of Ouchy with Italy*

a flash in the pan, because no-one will be able to reach any agreement about the Eastern Question sitting round a green table.

*Kleinitz, 20th October, 1912.*

Your peace is signed at last. If I am pleased in some respects I deplore it in others for your country. It is a lopsided peace. You are getting Tripoli which, thanks to the Arabs, will give you a lot of trouble, but why give up all the Islands in the Ægean Sea and not at least have kept Rhodes and Stampalia after having conquered them so brilliantly !

Now they are fighting in the Balkans and I have the impression that war is being vigorously carried on there. One doesn't know really whether to believe in the victories which are reported on both sides because one knows from experience that neither the Turks nor their adversaries always speak the truth. For the moment the great question is whether the war can be localised or whether it will end by becoming general. I'm very afraid of this because I see from the papers that the Pan-Slavists are furious with Sazanow who doesn't want Russia to take part in the war and from another quarter I know that our Government are determined to back up Austria. A very dangerous policy for which I don't believe Germany will thank her Sovereign because it may involve them very far. But there is in these ideas the same thought which some years ago prompted the famous telegram addressed to Goluchowski on the subject of the "Brilliant Second" at the Conference of Algeciras. You remember this perhaps and the Emperor seems to hold to it.

*Paris, 24th October, 1912.*

Last night I dined at my brother's house with the comte de Haussonville who is very pro-Bulgar in his opinions and

### *War in the Balkans*

longing for their success. I admit I fear this success. If the Turks are really beaten it will be universal war and this is more to be dreaded than anything because the consequences will be terrible.

In the meanwhile we have the Russian Heir-to-the-Throne dying after an accident. This can also have consequences for the future. You will see the Pan-Slavist party will say if anything should happen to the Czarevitch that it was because the Bulgarians were not aided in their crusade for freeing the Christians in Macedonia, as if Russia had ever given liberty to anybody ! That is why I have always felt repugnance for that sort of crusade.

Here people are astonished at Germany's reserve in all this Eastern Question and one asks oneself what lies hidden beneath.

*Paris, 28th October, 1912.*

What do you think of the great events in the Balkans and the energy displayed by these four small States against Turkey ? The Vienna papers say quite frankly that this great territory ought to be cut up, but if King Ferdinand should get to Constantinople you will see he will immediately proclaim himself Emperor of Byzantium and there won't be any way of getting him out. It is he who has brought about this campaign, united the four Balkan States and got them to make a concerted plan. It was all carried out with the utmost secrecy in spite of the preparations. The German Minister who returned from Sofia here scarcely a week ago assured everyone that there wouldn't be a war. He was very mistaken.

The Great Powers were equally taken by surprise and their intervention will be a mere beating the air at this time of day. And then again Germany is in great consternation about the superiority of Creusot's guns over Krupp's and if it were

1912]     *Repercussions of the Little Tap on the Back*

known (as I know) how it came about these guns were ordered from France they would be still more displeased. You will remember that some years ago Prince Ferdinand was in Berlin and that after dining with Their Majesties he was talking to somebody looking out of the window when the Emperor going behind him tapped him on an unfortunate place whereat Prince Ferdinand was highly offended and demanded apologies via Eulenburg which were not forthcoming. Furious, Prince Ferdinand who had been negotiating with Krupp about guns popped off to Creusot as he didn't wish to give the order to Germany. The parents of Schneider, the owner of the Creusot works, told me all about it again last night.

I have seen General Silvestre who is very preoccupied with Bulgarian happenings and is wondering if Russia and England will keep firmly to the Triple Entente. He knows the Russians well having seen them in Manchuria and hasn't too much faith in them. This morning the German Press is in utter confusion. First of all determined to uphold Austria even to the extent of going to war, now the Press in Berlin is all against her. And of all Berlin's Turkish policy nothing now remains but the Bagdad Railway.

*Paris, 4th November, 1912.*

Here people can only talk about the Bulgarians, the merits of their King, their wonderful army, the superiority of Creusot's guns over Krupp's, Germany's embarrassment over Austria with whom she has become rather too involved and over Italy whom she feels is eluding her, and the future which everyone would like to be able to foretell, etc., etc. It is extremely interesting hearing all these things discussed and I notice that great progress is being made here in reasonableness. One notices this also in religious matters. The churches are full, many soldiers make their appearance and it seems

### *Austro-German Balkan Policy*

that quite a number of airmen can be counted among the faithful. . . . There you see where persecution leads. They say Millerand the War Minister is now very upset at having got the three years' service law adopted. He perceives that the cavalry will suffer and one doesn't know how he will be able to alter matters. The night before last I dined next to the British Military Attaché who fought in the Boer War and who is extremely intelligent. He told me that this year's manœuvres in the West were very much better than last year's, supplies arrived punctually, the motor waggons had proved most useful, and the High Command had been very superior to that of the previous year.

*Berlin, 5th November, 1912.*

I left all Paris anxious about future events. At the German Embassy where I lunched before leaving, Schoen appeared to me to be the least concerned of anybody. He believed in a very near mediation and maintained that Austria was no longer to be feared on account of her pretensions regarding Salonika and that she would be content with economic advantages. I must admit I do not share his bright confidence, and arriving here I got the impression that the German Government had great fear of war, that they felt that Austria was escaping from their influence and that her behaviour *vis-à-vis* Germany wasn't at all frank.

Several people who came and saw me last night spoke in this sense and gave me to understand that the Emperor William appeared rather indifferent to events and that he spoils everything by his opportunism ; that Bethmann Hollweg is not revealing himself as a great statesman and Kiderlen is suffering the consequences of his unfortunate policy in permitting the annexation by Austria-Hungary of Bosnia and Herzegovina some years ago, the first false step which has

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*The Greeks Enter Salonica*

gradually led up to the present war. This is what happens when one doesn't know how to foresee things.

Sunday I lunched with Messieurs Nisard and Hanotaux, two charming speakers well informed of all that is happening. Each tried to guess the future, but they both said if Germany had shown the least generosity towards France it would have been easy to have had France at her side at this moment, but the Agadir boat had rendered this impossible for all time, especially as the tone of the German papers, which continues sharp, only increases the bitterness. One couldn't be more clumsy and stupid.

*Berlin, 9th November, 1912.*

The Emperor is furious at not having been kept informed by his agents of Bulgarian preparations and the union of the four Balkan Powers. All those diplomats were certainly very blind. . . .

There's nothing very fresh this morning except the entrance of the Greeks into Salonica and the firm intention of the four Balkan sovereigns to discuss peace only with Turkey direct. I entirely share their view. Austria (in words at the moment) is treating the Servians very hardly, and that Power would be quite capable with her absurd ambitions of bringing about a peace which would not solve the Eastern Question definitely. Austria has managed all right so far without the territories she desires. She possesses ports on the Adriatic and could perfectly well arrange matters with Servia without setting Europe on fire as she risks doing. At present two parties divide her. That of the aged Emperor who doesn't want war and that of the Heir-Apparent who wants it at all cost. Berchtold must be having difficulty in manœuvring between the two which about balance each other in numbers.



## *Germany Relinquishes Her Leadership*

*Berlin, 13th November, 1912.*

The political situation has become more aggravated since my last letter. I might be mistaken in not believing that Germany is hiding some manœuvre in the self-effacing rôle she is playing in this crisis but I think she is finding herself extremely embarrassed and feels herself being carried along much further than she'd expected by her imprudent actions *vis-à-vis* Austria. She doesn't know how to get out of the support promised without thinking of the consequences which might be involved. They have been carrying on here for years like a bull in a china shop. They stupidly supported Austria over the seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, irritated France about Morocco, dispatched telegrams at random, and believing in a Turkish victory God knows what they haven't promised Austria. The Emperor doesn't want war, he was dumbfounded when he saw himself bound by the promises he had made. In his eyes these promises were only demonstrations, naïvely believing that when he mentioned his armies this would suffice to make his terrified adversaries draw back. Certainly they make an impression but they do not suffice to make a country draw back when it feels itself to be in the right.

What specially annoys the Emperor is the silence with which Ferdinand surrounds himself and that the latter won't let it be known what he intends to do.

The Turks are determined upon an heroic defence of Constantinople and the one thing which seems to me desirable is that the Powers should not patch up a peace containing the germs of future war and that they should understand the Eastern Question must be settled for once and for all.

*Berlin, 17th November, 1912.*

It is perfectly true that Wangenheim made his *début* at Constantinople by giving the worst possible advice to the

1912]     *in the Triple Alliance to Austria-Hungary*

Turks. We have proof of this not only in the language held by the ministry at the Wilhelmstrasse but above all by that of his mother-in-law, Frau von Spitzenburg, who sees things only through the eyes of her son-in-law. She inveighed against the Bulgarians, "who would be a mere mouthful for the Turks," and now everyone is laughing at her. What has happened to Marschall's splendid policy and all Germany's efforts to uphold Turkey? Everything has come to nought. Many are saying that it is the Turkish Ambassador here who will be designated to negotiate peace, a peace which is very necessary if Turkey is not to disappear from Europe.

*Berlin, 21st November, 1912.*

Austria has become very arrogant towards Servia. She is forgetting that Bosnia is inhabited by Servians and that if she does not grant them any outlet to the Sea she will make implacable enemies of them. Austria continues to play a double game. It is only the Emperor who is right and knows what he wants. It has come to my ears that he was beside himself the other day when he saw his Heir arriving at Budapest escorted by all the greatest military authorities of the country to extort his consent to war. There was such a scene between the Emperor and the Archduke that their voices were heard at a distance of four rooms and the Archduke had to return to Vienna empty-handed. He has such a desire for Austrian aggrandisement and for war that he is sure to find some means of upsetting the cart and forcing Francis Joseph's hand.

From another source I have heard the Emperor of Russia said to one of his shooting guests who was returning to Vienna: "Be sure and tell Count Berchtold to avoid putting me under the obligation of making war on Austria. He has been in Russia long enough to know just how far I can go."

*Prince Gortchakow's Gloomy Foreboding*

All the diplomatists I have seen these last days have an air of great preoccupation. God knows what is happening. After Turkey which they want to cut up and of which they each want a morsel it will be Austria's turn to be the object of European greed. The aged Gortchakow said once that the Balkans would be Austria's tomb and I don't believe he's wrong. We shall see !

*Berlin, 25th November, 1912.*

News from the East is very bad. In spite of the Emperor Francis Joseph's determination to keep the peace it seems the war party are going to prevail, for Austria is mobilising. If she goes to war with Servia, Russia will be obliged to go to war too and there we shall be in a jiffy involved in a general war which will reduce all to fire and blood. And general war will spell the end of the European Monarchies. We are in such a muddle that nothing will remain. Before undertaking such a business Austria should realise that after Turkey has been disposed of it will be she whom they will begin to cut up and plunder. Her future appears to me very black.

This evening rumour has it that the Emperor will give up going to the Fürstenburg marriage at Donaueschingen, being unable to leave Potsdam owing to the gravity of the news. Besides the Archduke, the Chief of the Austrian General Staff came to Berlin last Friday to confer with Count Moltke. He took a false name and everything was to be done with the greatest secrecy. Arrived in Berlin the General promptly goes to the Adlon Hotel where the porter recognises him and calls him by his proper name ! Thus this visit of a few hours became public. The porter got a lot of money from the newspapers for having revealed this secret at such a moment and the Governments of Berlin and Vienna are furious about it.

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*The Grand Duke Nicholas in Paris*

There has been a council of war in Paris at which the Russian Military Attaché was present and the Grand Duke Nicholas has been appointed generalissimo of the Russian armies. He is very warlike in his sentiments and he sings the praises of the French Army. I needn't tell you how this news is creating bad blood here.

Yesterday I made the acquaintance of the new Russian Ambassador to Berlin, Monsieur Sverbéew. Lerchenfeld brought him along. They both looked very preoccupied. The present certainly isn't an easy moment for diplomatists. This evening the papers are more reassuring and it seems that the Austrian Heir-Apparent has received a cold douche at Springe. They say that cholera is diminishing in Constantinople and the Ambassador said last night Prince Ferdinand has a veritable horror of this disease.

*Berlin, 29th November, 1912.*

The summoning of a conference would be the most reasonable means of arriving at a solution of the Eastern problem. All the Powers except Austria seem to me to grasp this. The latter senses perfectly well that Europe wouldn't countenance her ideas of aggrandisement and would support the Servians against her pretensions. She is playing a sorry rôle in the conflict, obscure, subterranean, full of intrigue and snares. At times it all seems to me very contradictory and that there is an inconceivable lack of frankness in Austria's policy, all of which goes to show the struggle of the two tendencies, that of the old Emperor and the Archduke's.

They say here that the Turks are very down in the dumps ; the Bulgars, too, in spite of their victories which will have cost them more than ninety thousand men. They have no more reserves and cholera has attacked them also whereas at

### *Tension Increases*

Constantinople it is decreasing and the Turks are regaining courage.

*Berlin, 3rd December, 1912.*

My daughter Helen arrived yesterday from Warsaw and seems perfectly calm about events. She says that in the whole kingdom of Poland there was no arming at all, and two days before her departure she had a long talk with the Governor-General who assured her they were not arming in Russia and that it was at the Emperor William's instigation the Czar gave a private audience to the Austrian Ambassador—a thing which hadn't happened to him for four years ! This audience has calmed a lot of spirits who were beginning to feel thoroughly disturbed.

I have had echoes of the agitation which is growing in Vienna in a letter from Betka of 29th November of which this is the principal passage :

"Here the situation is daily becoming more serious and more distressing. War seems inevitable and although everyone knows the dangers involved people maintain that it can't be avoided. There isn't a ghost of a head or direction and the military party decides everything. They are influencing the Emperor in making him believe that it would be bad for the spirit of the troops to withdraw at present and the poor old man resigns himself. Of the Archduke one knows nothing ; he's in Vienna but keeping quiet. They say the mobilisation order will be given on the 6th and then my children will be obliged to leave. From Galicia the news is most distressing ; the population is in a ferment ; in the Ruthenian districts peasant uprisings are feared."

This letter is a reflection of the situation in Austria. This Power's policy meets with little enthusiasm here and the entente between Berlin and Vienna isn't quite perfect.

Germany tries to keep her ally in order but Austria's pretensions and her method of stating her claims before all the world render negotiations quite impossible. Austria has thus voluntarily burnt her boats and the only mode of discussion which remains to her is mobilisation. She has made the air resound with her preparations which is an odd way of preparing for war and most dangerous if one desires peace. The fuss has created the worst impression in Germany where they don't want to run risks for the caprices of Vienna and they are making great efforts to help her to get out of the impasse into which she has blundered. The Emperor William is said to have offered after the visit of the Archduke to arrange the difficulties between Vienna and St. Petersburg. He exerted his influence at both Courts to quiet them and the outcome of this was the interview granted to the Austrian Ambassador by the Czar and the Vienna Cabinet agreeing not to insist upon an immediate discussion on Servia. This is great progress which will probably lead to a conference at which Austria will be able to make concessions to Servia which she could not do on her own.

This morning Helen has received another letter from her sister saying : "The Emperor William let fall words at Donaueschingen which prove that in spite of his desire for peace and his cheerful outlook he is very ruffled by the superiority of the Bulgarian armies and Creusot's guns. Goluchowski is back from Alsace where he has been staying at Robertsau with Countess Pourtalés. He found a state of great nervousness there and he considers our position very dangerous."

Another letter received this morning from Colonel Pellet who is commanding a regiment of artillery at Nancy recounts the following :

"We are frontier troops and the smallest shot fired in

### *An Accidental Mobilisation*

Europe has echoes here which vibrate for some time. You will have read in the papers that the other day a neighbouring Canton to Nancy was mobilised on its own in the middle of the night owing to a mistake on the part of the postmaster, who dreaming of general mobilisation had thought he read this in a telegram referring to mobilisation exercises which are a frequent occurrence here. This error had good results in demonstrating how an order to mobilise would be received in France. It was night ; the last train for Nancy had gone ; reservists and territorials up to forty-five years old, not wishing to wait until morning set off on foot and arrived at Nancy (twenty-five kilometres) in the morning in the most appalling weather. I saw thirty of them who came to my regiment and the remarkable thing was that there were more than had been foreseen by the authorities, because young people and men of over forty-five years of age who were not under an obligation to serve came to see whether they could be of use. Apart from a few who had had a glass or two too many they were all very quiet, full of beans and not at all afraid. It would be a good thing if these people were called to the colours in earnest."

Yesterday in Parliament Bethmann made a lengthy speech, which is being severely criticised, on foreign policy. He has promised too much support to Austria and they say it is the price which the Archduke is demanding for Austria giving up her claims. From everything one reads in the papers one can see quite plainly if the Emperor went to war to support Austria Germany would only follow with repugnance.

It appears the little Balkan Powers are already on the way to tear each other to pieces which will be an advantage for the Turks, but Ferdinand will be caught out for his audacity.

*Berlin, 7th December, 1912.*

Betka writes me the following which will give you a good picture of what is happening in Austria. "Vienna, 4th December.—Here people are becoming quieter and beginning to think there won't be war with Russia. Bethmann's speech contributed to this. With Servia it's another matter, but as our Government have decided to be patient until the end of the preliminary peace negotiations this may have to last some time, all the more since the Balkan Union isn't quite perfect. These small Powers may soon begin to gobble each other up. Here in Galicia people have completely lost their heads. Everyone is leaving the country having buried articles of any value, furniture, pictures, silver, etc. Some are sending them to depôts farther off. The peasants are drinking and doing no work, women are weeping, the Jews sowing alarming news and profiting by purchasing from the peasants at half price their savings' deposits. Everything has been withdrawn from the banks, there isn't a crown in silver, nothing but paper. In brief, nothing can give an idea of the lengths to which human stupidity and muddle can go. All this mobilisation will cost a fortune and the financial crash will be all that remains."

They write me from Paris they are very agitated there. It is maintained that the evil genius of all that is happening in the Balkans is the Russian Ambassador there, Iswolski, who works through his friend Hartwig, the Russian Minister at Belgrade and an intriguer of the worst type. It seems the Czar's son is mortally ill, and that he can't live. . . .

From a few words which the Emperor let escape it appears ideas about making changes in the artillery are running through his head after what he has seen happening in the Balkans. This will entail further expense.



## *A Pause—A Conference in London*

*Berlin, 11th–15th December, 1912.*

To-day they announce the forced resignation of the War Minister and the Chief of the Austrian General Staff. Is this a victory of the Peace Party? God be willing, but what a lot of money this mobilisation is costing, what a lot of people are losing all their property through it all, and what is going to be the outcome of this Ambassadors' Conference which will effect only a patching up without anything solid and out of which only a new war will come within a few months, because the Archduke and the military party are determined on war? Here also they are beginning to bestir themselves and to discover that they must arm yet more.

I think it is extremely fortunate that the Conference is taking place in London rather than Paris where Iswolski would be able to do a lot of harm. He can't forget when he was Foreign Minister that Aerenthal played him up over the affair of Bosnia and Herzegovina and since then he has sworn an implacable hatred towards everything which concerns Austria.

I trust that the renewal of the Triple Alliance announced by the papers will place obstacles in Austria's way in making war on you. The Archduke sees Italy as the source of all these troubles.

Betka writes me from Vienna the 12th :

"At the London Conference they are going to patch up a peace which will crack at the first shock and bring about fresh conflicts. Here they are at an end of their money, there are bankruptcies every day, business is at a standstill because there are no longer any outlets either through Serbia or Turkey. In high places squabbles which are making the worst impression. The poor old Emperor is at an end of his strength. Everyone is depressed and sees a dark future,

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*Further News from Vienna*

particularly for Austria. This tension can't go on for ever and the great change which will alter the map must come one day."

*Berlin, 19th December, 1912.*

It seems to me nothing is being settled in London, for everyone is sticking to his own point of view and a renewal of the war is to be feared rather than peace which would be more desirable. I can understand the Turks but not the way the Greeks are going on. They say since recent events Ferdinand has become unrecognisable. His hair and his beard are white and he has grown quite stout. It is probable in spite of all his glory cares have not been lacking and that he realised too late Constantinople is impregnable and his dream unrealisable which is a blow to his ambition.

In Austria they are not calming down. Meanwhile their mobilisation has been achieved and has given them infinite trouble, because not wanting their Slav troops to face their fellow countrymen they were obliged to undertake incredible changes so that their front line should consist of such German troops as they possess.

*Berlin, 22nd December, 1912.*

I have had quite an interesting letter from my daughter Helen who is in Vienna. "I found opinion rather less anxious but of course not yet reassured about the future. The Austrians won't agree their policy is solely to blame for all that is happening in Europe.

"It seems they fomented the panic in Galicia to gamble for a fall. It's nice! In general one has the impression this is a nation which is disappearing and that the days of the Empire are numbered. In Parliament at a moment when foreign affairs are going through such a grave crisis there are

### *Bavaria and Prussia*

obstructions and the Czechs are not shy about showing their pro-Slav sympathies. Furthermore, although the Archduke is less bellicose his relations with the Emperor are far from satisfactory."

All those who came back here from the burial of the Regent at Munich are rather scandalised at the way in which the Chancellor Bethmann was treated. At the funeral he took rank behind the smallest princes, and at the big dinner he was put at the end of the table beside the Cuban Minister. This shows that the attitude of mind of the new Regent has not altered and that he does not consider himself a vassal of the Empire. The Emperor is not without misgivings on this subject.

From another quarter I hear the reports of the German Military Attaché in Paris give information that the progress of the French army is prodigious and that Millerand is an excellent War Minister. The Emperor must be struck by this progress which he attributes to chauvinism instead of seeking an answer in the despatch of the ship to Agadir. It was a warning from which they knew how to profit in France. But this is an additional reason for the German military party to wish to fling themselves on France before progress has gone further.

*Berlin, 31st December, 1912.*

Now here we are on the last day of a year which has not spared us feelings of all sorts. Good and bad have not cancelled each other out. This time the bad things have prevailed.

Kiderlen's death is a grave event for the Government. Although we owe to him in part all we are going through at this moment, having negotiated as he did the annexation of Bosnia, Agadir, etc., his decease places the Emperor in an awkward position. He was a very mediocre minister,

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*Kiderlen-Waechter's Death*

but he had in his hands all the threads of the situation and it will be very difficult for another diplomatist to take them up, especially in this time of trouble. Kiderlen followed too close on Marschall and there is no-one capable of replacing them.

Austria is seized with a veritable madness, and she will end by setting Europe alight. . . .

## Chapter VI

1913

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*Berlin, 3rd-4th January, 1913.*

ON New Year's day I went to the Empress's audience. She has aged considerably and looks sad. The Emperor was in an appalling humour. Kiderlen's death is a serious embarrassment because he hasn't anyone to replace him. The post they say is to be offered to Jagow. Wangenheim would have been chosen, but at present they don't want to shift him from Constantinople.

I saw quite a number of people on the first. They all feel frightfully nervous about the unsettled conditions into which political uncertainty has plunged us. Austria declares that she won't disarm until peace has been made in the Balkans and in the meantime ruin is increasing in that Empire to an incredible extent. Really one doesn't know where one is and one still has ominous feelings of danger.

*Berlin, 8th January, 1913.*

What do you think of Jagow's appointment? He refused three times and it required a peremptory command from his Sovereign before he submitted. He realised the dangers. But he bowed to necessity and is due to arrive here about the 20th. He is putting off his departure from Rome for as long as possible. He is in despair they say and refuses to accept any congratulations from those who are sufficiently

courageous to offer them. They maintain here that people were pretty annoyed about his friendship with Bülow and that this is a further reason for withdrawing him from Rome. But I think it is really because they hadn't anyone else he was chosen. He is certainly intelligent, but he has no knowledge of the East, never having been to Constantinople nor in the Balkans, and at a time like the present this seems to me to be a pity.

The Emperor must be extremely occupied with his jubilee for the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He's dreaming about Court processions, and he is giving orders in connection with the movements of regiments which are to parade at Königsberg, because he wants everything to take place there. All the horses and gala coaches from the royal stables at Berlin are to be transported, and one hears a mass of things which seem utterly ridiculous. A jubilee of this nature has never been celebrated in Prussia before. The old Emperor didn't do it. He would never have let himself go to such childish lengths. All this at a time so serious for Europe as the present seems to me so puerile that I feel positively distressed for the Emperor.

Helen writes me from Warsaw that everything is quiet and that war is mentioned much less there than in Berlin and in Austria.

*Berlin, 16th January, 1913.*

Yesterday I had the honour of receiving Their Majesties who came to hear the pianist Radwan. The Emperor was in a positively rosy humour. He is overjoyed at being delivered from Millerand in Paris. Certainly it will be a very long time before they find such a good War Minister in France again. Millerand had succeeded in making himself felt in Germany which isn't saying a little.

### *The Roman Embassy*

Jagow isn't here yet but he won't be long. They are looking everywhere for his successor for Rome and there is still a tussle going on between the Emperor and the Chancellor. The Emperor wanted to send Chelius and the Chancellor wanted Flottow who is now at Brussels and who is being very pushed by Jagow whose great friend he is. I hope that Jagow made his own terms on taking up his appointment. If he could instil a little good feeling into the offices of the Wilhelmstrasse this would be the greatest service he could render the Emperor and his country. It is a nest of intrigue.

*Berlin, 20th January, 1913.*

The other day at my house the Emperor chatted nicely to everyone but politics didn't seem to be occupying his mind at all. Between ourselves, I have the feeling he is worrying very little personally at the moment and it is owing to his indifference that Germany's voice is being scarcely heard in all this Eastern Question. It is I believe to-day that Jagow is due to make his entry into Berlin. Baron von Jenisch<sup>1</sup> who is replacing him is quite undistinguished but he's extremely rich and will be able to run the Embassy very grandly. He was rather compromised in the matter of the English newspaper article reporting the political ideas of the Emperor some years ago when Bülow fell in utter disgrace.

The Powers' note has at last been transmitted to Constantinople. I confess it doesn't edify me in the least. As the Powers had promised Turkey before these misfortunes that the territorial *status quo* would be maintained whatever happened I can understand the Turks allowing themselves to be killed to the last man rather than give in.

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Daily Telegraph Interview," pp. 340-1.

*Berlin, 24th-28th January, 1913.*

What do you say to the revolution in Constantinople ? It must be Enver Bey who is the moving spirit. This outburst of despair isn't surprising. Europe's conduct is certainly the cause.

The day before yesterday I sat next to Bethmann at dinner and I could see he only understands a policy of opportunism. The day before yesterday he believed peace had been made, that Turkey was completely resigned to her fate and that at any rate war wouldn't break out again this year ! I should like to know what he's thinking to-day.

This worthy Bethmann is honesty itself but he isn't very far-sighted, he can foresee nothing and does nothing, consequently Germany has no authority whatever at the London Conference.

Last night I went to the opera to congratulate the Emperor. He was looking very well, was talkative and didn't appear preoccupied in spite of the grave news. Yesterday people were saying the London Conference had broken up and really this would be for the best in my opinion, for what is the use of coming together merely to carry out bad work ? Europe has shown herself utterly incapable and this way of trampling on misfortune and upholding the vanquishers in all their claims must have led to the revolution at Constantinople. Lack of moderation in victory is worse than a crime, it's a mistake, as my great uncle Talleyrand often said to Napoleon, and I am convinced Europe will repent one day for having done what she has. It is a fatal example.

More than ever they believe here they must impress France with numbers and this is why they are wanting to form three new army corps in addition to the two of last year. That will cost another hundred millions and will bring the



### *An Increase in the Army*

peace strength of the army up to a million men. It's frightful to think of in cold blood. It is Admiral Tirpitz who uses all his influence to bring about these results. Things are going badly in Alsace as well. Everybody is put out there.

Someone has just written me, "News from Russia isn't at all good, the Czar is in a fever fearing he will have to give way to the very strong party which wants war. As regards himself, he's absolutely opposed to the idea. The Dowager Empress is seriously ill."

*Berlin, 4th February, 1913.*

I am going to give you a copy of a letter from my daughter which strikes me as rather curious. "Politics are becoming more and more disquieting. No country wishes to take the responsibility of energetic action for fear of being accused of setting fire to the powder, but really they are egging each other on and only a war can get Europe out of this imbroglio. All the news which I get from Vienna or Galicia tells that armaments and war preparations are being pushed on. Conrad Hoetzendorf and the whole military party are striving for war as hard as they can. It seems on the other hand that Berchtold is content with his diplomatic successes and that he thinks he will be able to get all he wants peacefully. Only the Emperor sees Austria's future in a very black light. The Archduke Renier's death has distressed him very much. The Heir-Apparent has had a severe attack of bronchitis. Sophie is very worried about it and they are both to spend the rest of the winter at Miramar. They fear the financial and industrial *débâcle* will soon turn to a catastrophe, because there are no exports at all to the Balkans, Austria's chief markets. Conrad isn't dreaming of withdrawing troops from the frontiers, and their maintenance is costing more than two millions a day. . . ."

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*Hostilities Renewed in the Balkans*

Since this letter hostilities have begun again and we shall see how things will turn out now. They say the Bulgarians haven't a halfpenny.

The letter which the Emperor of Austria has just written to the Czar was inspired here and it must have all happened secretly, because the German Embassy in Vienna knew nothing nor did Count Berchtold. I knew all about it. I got the information from the best source.

*Berlin, 9th February, 1913.*

Since the renewal of hostilities one doesn't really know what is happening because both Governments have got rid of the military attachés and journalists from their headquarters. I feel I should have done the same in their place, and so I can't blame them. Rumour has it that Enver Bey is meditating a great manœuvre for getting rid of the Bulgarians away from Constantinople and I am asking myself whether his forces are strong enough to carry out his vast plan.

Nizami returned here yesterday straight from London. I haven't seen him yet but I read in the papers that immediately on his return he had a very long conversation with Jagow and I don't think he will long delay coming to see me. Poor Jagow made his début as a speaker in one of the committees of the Reichstag, and being quite unaccustomed to speak, he came hopelessly to grief. He had told people so before and this was one of the reasons he gave for refusing the post three times. If he can't express himself before a committee whatever will he do in front of a Parliament in full session? We no longer have any men, that's certain. The Emperor may well raise his eyebrows but they won't spring out of the ground.

## *The Emperor's Daughter Engaged*

*Berlin, 13th February, 1913.*

Here we have a great event, the betrothal of the Emperor's daughter to the Cumberland Prince which we thought a few days ago had been broken off. This was not the case fortunately, and we are celebrating with the engagement of the young Princess the reconciliation with the family of Hanover,<sup>1</sup> an occasion of the first importance for Germany.

The Emperor is very pleased with his success, the Princess is very happy and the marriage very popular. As for me who always dreamed of this alliance as the end of a conflict which has lasted since 1866, I'm delighted about it.

I have received telegrams from the Emperor, the Empress and the young fiancée very warm and friendly in tone and filled with satisfaction. This morning the engaged couple made a solemn entry into Berlin. This is an event which is going to do us good.

I dined last night at the French Embassy where they said that Prince Hohenlohe had been very coldly received at St. Petersburg. I told you Francis Joseph hadn't spoken to Berchtold of the step which he had decided upon and, when the latter learnt the story of the letter with which he had had no connection, he immediately resigned. His Sovereign begged him to stay to avoid the fuss which this would make in Europe. The mission wasn't a success for Prince Hohenlohe who returned so ill to Vienna that he wasn't able even to bring the Czar's reply to the Emperor. You will have seen this in the newspapers and you will have said as I did that the Austrians are not great diplomats.

As for the war, one knows nothing definite, one can't discover who has been beaten, each side lies, and one must wait to learn the truth and draw conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> See note on "The Hanover-Prussian Squabble," pp. 347-8.

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*To Ernst August, Prince of Hanover*

*Berlin, 17th February, 1913.*

Jenisch has such a bad heart he has resigned and given up Rome. Flottow is going there instead. The latter is very stiff, rather feeble and suffers from his stomach. He is completely lacking in charm although he is witty. Two years ago he married a Russian woman of good birth and extremely rich, General Keller's widow. The General died bravely in Manchuria. She's an intelligent woman and extremely ambitious. The story was told here that on her marriage day she said to her future husband: "If you're not an Ambassador within eighteen months I'll run off." All the same I believe Flottow is worth more than the Emperor's candidate because he's a diplomatist and Chelius isn't.

The day before yesterday I was invited to Court to make the acquaintance of the fiancé of the Emperor's daughter. This young prince made the best impression on me, he is quiet and reserved and he has a very nice expression. The Princess seemed enchanted and the marriage which was to have taken place in October is to be put forward. Last Friday the prince had to take his oath as a Prussian officer, this was one of the conditions of the marriage and reconciliation. It seems he was terribly moved but everything passed off all right.

The Hohenlohe mission has failed completely and Austria no longer wishes to demobilise. People believe if she doesn't do so before the end of March that a general war will become inevitable. . . . This morning I got a letter from the Grand Duchess of Baden which beams with satisfaction over the marriage which has reconciled Hanover and Prussia.

*Berlin, 25th February, 1913.*

The young Danish Sovereigns have been here since yesterday on a visit. I was a witness of their arrival, and to-day

### *Delcassé Appointed to St. Petersburg*

I am to be presented to them at the house of their Minister, Count Moltke, whom you must have known formerly in Rome. To-morrow there is to be a grand concert at Court. That will be the end until they begin again on the 6th with the Regent of Bavaria.

Last night there was a report that someone had succeeded in getting out of Adrianople and that he said life there was still pretty comfortable, that stores of food were considerable and sufficient to last a long time. . . . Meanwhile neither Russia nor Austria is disarming.

The Emperor Nicholas is heaping attentions of every sort upon the President of the French Republic ; letters, telegrams, ribbon sent by a special messenger, etc. So nothing is lacking to make Germany understand that the alliance is warmer than ever, whereas here people thought it had broken down.

Delcassé's appointment as Ambassador to St. Petersburg is having a lively effect here where they don't seem to realise that the formation of five new army corps in eight months forces their neighbours to put themselves on guard. In Berlin such a prompt reply from France was not anticipated nor were the Russian demonstrations for Poincaré, so the surprise was more than disagreeable.

*Berlin, 5th March, 1913.*

Last Wednesday I attended the concert at Court and the Emperor's bad temper struck me. Afterwards I learnt that he hadn't known how to control himself and had addressed stern words to the Ambassadors. To the Turk : "It is high time that peace was made, there is no more time to be lost, you must get out of Europe without delay."

To Cambon : "I fancy the programme of the Concert must please you." "Yes, sir, and I notice with pleasure two

pieces of French music in it." "Music is international like art, but bear in mind I have been waiting twenty-five years for a friendly gesture."

To the British, not a word. To the Russian a couple of very brusque words. All the Ambassadors had the discomfiture of a nightmare. At supper the Emperor didn't open his mouth to the Queen of Denmark who was his neighbour, nor for that matter to anyone. It was embarrassing for those who were at his table. I understood it when I learnt the following. When one is receiving royal visits there is always an exchange of decorations, and an exchange of lists between the members of both governments so as more or less to equalise the decorations granted. This exchange of views about the two lists was going on all right when they got to Dallwitz's name, the Prussian Minister for the Interior. Flat refusal from Denmark to show the smallest favour to this Minister, and Count Moltke was instructed by his Government to say the Danish Government could never offer the least distinction to a Minister who took it upon himself to oppress the annexed population of Schleswig, as they were doing in Prussia, the Danish people would never forgive their King if he were to do so. That same morning the Emperor got to know about the Czar's letter to Poincaré and France's reply to the German armaments in the three years' service measure. Three disagreeable things on the same day proved too much for his nerves, and he was not able to control himself sufficiently to conceal it in public.

The Head of the Deutsche Bank told an acquaintance of mine that Germany if they go on like this will soon become bankrupt. Austria is nearly so already and feels herself obliged to draw nearer Russia whereas she is drifting away from Germany. Now it is to you they are looking to keep France in the Mediterranean and do a whole mass of things

### *Armaments and Fortresses*

which would suit Berlin but which would be disastrous for Italy.

Yesterday I saw Jagow who is already worn out and talks only of the infernal life to which he has been delivered up and which he won't be able to stand for any length of time. . . .

*Berlin, 9th March, 1913.*

Armaments are being pushed forward as though we were already at war. They are going to build a line of gigantic fortresses on the Russian frontier and increase those already so numerous on the French. People only talk of that and everyone is promising to contribute money as if the country were in danger. We are breathing an atmosphere of veritable madness and there is no explanation. It seems to me none of this is going to contribute to Germany's happiness. If it were necessary to make great sacrifices to get rid of Napoleon in 1813 there is no necessity to begin again and amplify them in 1913. Germany is at war with no-one, and no-one is thinking of attacking her. One only begs that she won't attack others.

I have a sort of feeling that all these troubles spring from Kiderlen's stupid policy. When he saw that the Agadir boat had missed fire and that the Moroccan business ended in a climb-down he looked for means to save appearances. It was he who invented the formation of two new army corps last Summer, and it was this idea which brought about that of the three new ones they are wanting to form now. The taxation necessary to produce the capital of a milliard which they are demanding from us at once will be a year's whole revenue from our possessions and one asks oneself how one will be able to feed during the year. It seems to me that the country is heading straight for bankruptcy. When last

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*"1813" Centenary Festivities*

year Herr von Wermuth who managed the Empire's finances admirably very suddenly resigned, the real reason was these new military measures of which he disapproved, and for which he didn't care to accept the responsibility.

The Regent of Bavaria's visit passed off very well. But it was high time for it to come to an end, for what with the Empress's rigid Protestantism and the strict Catholicism of the Regent's wife these ladies had nothing in common and nothing to say to each other. The Regent asked to be shown as few soldiers as possible ; he doesn't care for military affairs and prefers agricultural pursuits which he understands. You can imagine how it went.

To-morrow the 10th of March we are to have great demonstrations for Queen Louisa whom the Emperor wishes to celebrate in the souvenirs of 1813, but she was already dead in 1810. These reminiscences of 1813 are his own initiative. It would have been in better taste not to have mentioned them, but the Emperor clings to the idea of seizing the imagination in adapting 1813 to 1913 as a means of getting hold of the money he wants, although a century ago things were totally other than they are to-day. The Emperor doesn't realise that he is responsible for the nation's socialism.

*Berlin, 13th March, 1913.*

Since my last letter matters have gone in a way which doesn't please me at all, and it seems as though people have completely lost their heads at Berlin. The speeches which you have read in the papers have also shown this tendency.

The Emperor's speech to his army on the 10th of March is not without eloquence but it is extremely provocative, consequently most inopportune and lacking in tact to a degree which makes one tremble. Nothing but provoca-



### *Again an Unfortunate Speech*

tions, nothing but double meanings. This homily is a formidable gesture and most dangerous at a time as serious as the one through which we are now passing.

The German papers are screaming at French provocation. Germany is arming, which she is at liberty to do, but in order to facilitate these military laws being passed, she declares that she is being provoked, which is absolutely untrue. Anywhere else there would be the greatest difficulty in getting people to accustom themselves to such a state of affairs. What is beginning to dismay people are these taxes which are under discussion before they have been formulated and presented to the Chamber. This levy of a milliard of marks on people's property which at first seemed quite feasible on examination is found to be bristling with the greatest difficulties. The Germans who only grasp things after some little time only realised this when they examined the thing closely. The more the federal committee probed into it the more these gentlemen found it would be impossible to carry out. I was told this only last night and heard of the embarrassment in which they found themselves after having announced with such a fuss the formation of two new army corps and the building of all these new fortresses on both frontiers. The three years' military service law in France is less of a business. Everyone there realises that a limit must be put to the invasions with which one is constantly threatening her and so they are adopting the three years' service which was in force eight years ago.

France was rich under this system. In returning to it to perfect her army and prepare her defences, with her intellectual superiority she can so manage so as not to upset her housekeeping. If only they could see all that is happening here instead of saying "poor France," they would cry "poor Germany," for the latter is profoundly sick and does not

1913] *Schloss Cumberland—A King Assassinated*

possess the resilience of character necessary for a return to a wiser policy, greater economy and less insanity.

*Berlin, 17th March, 1913.*

I dined the night before last at the Austrian Embassy and sat beside Count Eulenburg who was delighted with what he had seen at Gmünden where he accompanied the Empress and her daughter. He says the Hanover family live quite a patriarchal life there, lots of piety and very serious. The Count fears it may be even a little too serious for the little princess who is accustomed to more modern ideas and greater liberty. Her parents have spoilt her excessively and she has always followed her own inclinations. The sort of education people get these days.

Yesterday I saw the Turkish Ambassador who endured a further onslaught at the Ambassadors' dinner last week. It appears that this time things were more acid than on the day of the concert. But the Emperor was in the most amiable mood with Cambon. He was quite affected about it. . . .

There is much astonishment in Berlin that during these Danish and Bavarian visits the Crown Prince was absent, whereas the Princess had to come back from Danzig. This proves that the relations between father and son are scarcely all they should be.

*Berlin, 24th March, 1913.*

What political events since my last letter ! <sup>1</sup> A King assassinated, the fall of the Briand Ministry, the rejection of the new electoral law in France and all the things which still threaten us. What a collection to give us food for thought. Look at Austria which is rekindling her conflict with the

<sup>1</sup> The King of Greece was assassinated at Salonica by a Greek student.

### *The Emperor Would Like a Coronation*

Montenegrins and the Servians. . . . What a queer country and what an odd policy ! Let us hope that general war isn't at the bottom of all these fresh shocks. And with all this, here we have a Sovereign who dreams only of celebrating his jubilee on the fifteenth of next June. He's got the idea of profiting by the occasion to have himself crowned, not having done so when he came to the throne. People have tried to dissuade him from it, pointing out the enormous amount of money this would cost and that in view of the new taxes he couldn't think of asking for still more for his coronation. One hopes he has been dissuaded but one isn't sure yet.

*Rome, 2nd May, 1913.*

Yesterday I was present at my daughter-in-law's at a big dinner which had its interesting political side. Everyone there appeared extremely upset by events.

Primoli said the Paris Bourse had dropped twenty-five per cent, a thing which hasn't been seen since 1870. The Russian Ambassador said the situation was becoming more aggravated every day ; the Austrian Military Attaché didn't conceal the fact he was very worried . . . only Bülow maintained peace would be made and that he would bet ten to one on this, but he would not guarantee a lasting peace. He thought they would achieve a mere patching up which would come to grief in a short while and then it would all begin again. Finally Malvano maintained that there was a favourable telegram last night, diplomacy was being carried on with skill and that he had great hopes. . . . Everything depends on Austria. If she penetrates into Montenegro and northern Albania you will have to act instantly in the South. It is only common sense, but as Austria is detested here one should avoid putting the two armies face to face.

*Paris, 6th-10th May, 1913.*

At this second I have got a letter from my daughter in Vienna, dated the third of May, of which the following is passage :

"Politically the situation is most tense, but everyone is so frightfully exasperated by the uncertainty in which people have been living for the last six months and there is such an economic catastrophe people are only asking that it should come to an end at whatever cost. The military party are all for action, and the newspapers and public opinion are blaming the policy of Berchtold who doesn't know where he is between the Emperor and the Heir. The former is now for action and it appears he is furious with the Czar Nicholas. The Heir-Apparent is keeping quiet, they say he is ill and upset. One evening he arranges all the details for getting the troops on the march. Orders are given, everything is ready and the next day all is countermanded. I don't know how things will all turn out, but it seems to me Austria is very seedy."

On Thursday amongst others I had a visit from your friend Raindre. He finds France couldn't do otherwise than reinstitute three years' service. He believes Germany will always try not to become involved with France at a time of general conflict. "She wants," he said, "to fight us alone." I feel it is a good thing that they think so here because this is undoubtedly Germany's great desire, but I am wondering whether that Power won't be overtaken by circumstances and find herself attacked on many sides at a time.

The presence of the King of Spain these last days has put all Paris in a flutter. The fear of an attempt on Alphonso XIII has been making everybody tremble. They say there

*Alphonso XIII in Paris—Scutari*

were more than a thousand police in uniform and plain clothes looking after him. The King's arrival down the Bois de Boulogne, the Champs Elysées and the Place de la Concorde as far as the Palais Bourbon lit up by a beautiful sun was magnificent. My son who later was present at the review on the Esplanade des Invalides said it was splendid, he hadn't expected to see a turn out with such irreproachable bearing and the cavalry so well mounted.

I have had a delightful conversation with Monsieur de Barante and the marquis de Laborde. They maintain the French are most grateful to the Germans for their aggressive policy because France had been sleeping with a false sense of security brought about by abundance of money. The Agadir boat and the five new army corps had woken them up and now their martial spirit is roused. If it had not been for Germany they would never have got their three years' service. Now everyone is saying, "It's disagreeable, it's hard, it's difficult, but we can't tolerate for ever being treated with the disdain Germany shows for us and if march we must, then we shall."

This is the note one hears everywhere.

Events in the East have undergone a *détente* since the Montenegrins returned Scutari, but the matter isn't settled . . . difficulties will come with the delimitation of the frontiers, Austria, blind as she is, will interfere in every thing which doesn't concern her in order to try and rehabilitate her honour so compromised by the last crisis. At the German Embassy they are overjoyed about Jagow. Schoen says things are dealt with quite differently since the latter has been at the Wilhelmstrasse, and no-one regrets the death of Kiderlen of whom they have only unpleasant recollections.

*Berlin, 22nd May, 1913.*

It is very nice weather so that the three arrivals—the Badens, the Cumberlands and the Czar—were very successful this morning. . . .

Here I am told that the candidature for the throne of Albania of a Prince of Wied, married to Princess Schoenburg whose mother is a Cantacuzene, is almost settled. This would be a great mistake. A German in a country of that sort couldn't be a success it seems to me. In the Wied household the husband is not intelligent and his wife is crafty. She must have been brought up at the Rumanian Court.

*Berlin, 26th May, 1913.*

We have as many as sixty sovereigns and princes in Berlin at this moment which doubles the official things by a mass of audiences and visits to pay and receive.

The luncheon given for the British Sovereigns was for fifty-two. The King has made considerable progress in French and he professes to have read my books and spoke a lot about them, as did the Queen. The stay in England in *The Chronicles* was their particular theme, which was very natural.

The Gala Opera was magnificent, the House was all decorated by garlands of roses of every shade. The engaged couple were in the centre of the large box between the Emperor and the Empress. The little Princess had on a very pretty dress of rose tulle embroidered with silver. They gave the first act of *Lohengrin* at her request. But what I found more interesting than the opera was the party with all those princes.

The Empress was so tired out that she appeared to me no longer to understand what she was saying. She was kind

### *The Czar's Kindness—The Wedding*

enough none-the-less to introduce me to the Duchess of Cumberland whom I found charming. She immediately thanked me for the present of a miniature of the first King of Hanover, Ernst August, which decorated a bracelet which this King had presented to my grandmother. She told me that this present had not only given pleasure to her son but also to his father the Duke who had been very touched.

At the reception I had an opportunity of speaking to the Czar who remembered me, spoke to me about my children saying how happy he was to have them now as his subjects. "I look after them from affection for you," he added. Towards the end the Emperor William coming up to me with a radiant expression uttered these words as he shook my hand: "A historic day . . . historic . . . historic. . . ."

The day before yesterday was the big day of the wedding; a magnificent sun. I had audiences in the morning, I had to begin getting ready with my court *toilette* and everything before three o'clock as I was due to be in the chapel at the Schloss at half-past four. Everything was magnificent, but the parson's address was lamentable, his delivery positively funereal, and the occasion was spoilt by the presence of the <sup>1</sup>Regent of Brunswick at the side of him who is called the Duke of Brunswick. They've no sense of light and shade in this country. The procession past the young married pair who were seated on a throne was followed by a dinner of fifteen hundred people. The Chancellor appeared corpulent, pink in the face, nervous and little satisfied with what was happening. His tone was sharp and annoyed, almost depressed. The dinner was followed by a torchlight dance which lasted more than an hour, and finally at nine o'clock we said good night. The married couple were conducted to the railway station by the Emperor who had been

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Hanover-Prussian Squabble," pp. 347-8.

1913]      *King George V—Grey's "Ordered" Peace*

very moved by the words which he had addressed to them drinking their health at dinner. You will read all about it in the newspapers.

I have just been told that the Czar gave audiences to Bethmann and Jagow. As for the King of England he received neither the one nor the other and he didn't discuss politics with anyone, but he was very polite to everybody and is staying for the two great Parades, as he is curious to see them.

*Kleinitz, 30th May, 1913.*

Peace pourparlers in London are advancing with incredible slowness and I fear the treaties will take a long time to elaborate in spite of the financial necessity of the Powers to bring the war to an end. Austria is playing a bad rôle. I've noticed that they are discontented in Berlin and beginning to be mistrustful. I see in this an unfavourable augury for the Triple Alliance.

The Emperor is already thinking of returning the King of England's visit, imagining that the meeting in Berlin has weakened the Triple Entente. It is far too soon. Even if there were any vestige of truth in this hope, the Emperor would only ruin the effect of it by a too hasty and perhaps inopportune visit.

I have no news of any sort from Berlin. I confess I am rather incredulous on the subject of the peace *ordered* by Sir Edward Grey. It won't last long. The Balkans are going to gobble each other up and the Powers must meddle, they ask for nothing better, because these all have the itch to increase their territories. It is a sorry outlook.

You have read in the papers the speeches in the German Parliament on the subject of Alsace-Lorraine and the imbecilities uttered by the members of the Government. Beth-



*A Balkan Pact—The Grand Vizier*

mann gave me the impression of not even understanding his own speech. Here we are very put out over the tax on capital which is being prepared in the Reichstag, and the tendency of the Government to make exceptions in the case of small fortunes as a sop to the Socialists is causing much displeasure.

*Kleinitz, 11th-15th June, 1913.*

I have had a letter from Berlin, here is a bit which might interest you: "We are still anxious about the manner in which Turkey's vanquishers are going to share the spoils. Even if they achieve this without war they will remain enemies. That will be the end of the Balkan pact. One had reckoned on this as a counter-weight to Central Europe and high circles in Berlin had been making this pact a pretext for justifying the military measures." Here is a letter from my daughter in Vienna in which she says: "We have had a fresh war alarm these last few days, but Russia's intervention seems to have postponed the danger. All the same people are not pleased at seeing the latter's influence so preponderant in the Balkans. All this Slav conflagration is a veritable hornets' nest. The Hapsburg Dynasty and what remains of Austria might collapse through it."

You see even in Vienna people are not happy.

*Kleinitz, 19th June, 1913.*

I can understand that the assassination of the Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Chewket Pasha, with whom you were on such intimate terms at Constantinople, has been a distressing shock to you. The Young Turks have done the greatest harm to their country. Enver Bey is largely responsible. God knows what he may be capable of doing still. He doesn't inspire in me any confidence whatever.

This morning I got a letter from Berlin of which here is a bit. "Wonderful weather favoured the jubilee. The Emperor was very warmly received and it is evident this anniversary has been excellent for developing a sense of loyalty in his people. But what a vast crowd in Unter den Linden! . . . The French would have preferred that the Emperor had not given as the 'mot d'ordre' '1871' when he went to the Arsenal for the changing of the Guard. Fortunately this wasn't noticed by the public."

*Kleinitz, 27th June, 1913.*

The Conservatives are blind. They prefer voting with the Socialists rather than accept the death duties, and the Centre Party would prefer the return of the Jesuits in a body than oppose these laws which are absolutely socialistic. What narrow natures these Germans have! And a worthy man like Bethmann accepts them all to ingratiate himself with the military party who have no need whatever for this increase of the army. The Pan-Germanists invented this idea. It only ends by disgusting people and putting them off this country. One can no longer have confidence in anyone. The Emperor follows this current believing that he's doing right but without taking the trouble to study these questions since he won't pay any of the taxes which they wish to inflict upon us. An atmosphere of insanity seems to be reigning throughout the entire world. And shall we ever see the end of all these happenings in the Balkans? Everything is becoming more poisoned, no-one wants to give way, the vanquishers are about to tear each other to bits and lose what they have won from the Turks. Austria is egging Bulgaria on to hinder the formation of a Balkan Confederation and the Czar from imposing peace.

## *Betka in London—Balkan Complications*

*Kleinitz, 1st-9th July, 1913.*

<sup>1</sup> The news in the papers is very bad this morning. They report that the Bulgarians have fallen on the Servians without a declaration of war. One should be surprised at nothing where King Ferdinand is concerned. I ask myself what Russia will do, because it seems certain that Bulgaria has signed an alliance with Austria.

My daughter Betka who has gone over to England for ten days writes me that on Thursday she went to the Court ball in London where she saw Poincaré who had had an enthusiastic reception. According to the German Press in Berlin they must be in a great state about it. . . .

Complications in the Balkans increase every day. Business is at a standstill everywhere and this new war is nothing but a reflection of the animosity which is raging between Austria and Russia. It is this quarrel which is our real danger at present. . . . I can't understand the Emperor going off on his cruise to the coast of Norway at such a moment.

*Kleinitz, 13th July, 1913.*

Now we have Bulgaria invoking Russia's aid at the eleventh hour to put an end to the war from which she is emerging so cut up. If only it isn't too late. Let us hope that the other nations engaged in the struggle don't let themselves be contaminated by the same malady which has cost Bulgaria so dear and make conditions which are unacceptable. With this step of King Ferdinand's at St. Petersburg the rivalry between Austria and Russia enters a new and very critical phase. It is the collapse of the plan which Austria had mapped out. Bulgaria beaten and repentant . . . Rumania

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "The Second Balkan War," pp. 387-9.

entering into a Balkan confederation and no longer seeking her instructions from Vienna, Russia bringing the solution of the conflict to the Peninsula, this is the bankruptcy of Count Berchtold's tortuous policy. Will Austria accept it? Will she obtain the immediate assistance of the Powers of the Triple Alliance? These questions will probably crop up and I tremble lest they may occasion fresh alarms for Europe and peace.

*Kleinitz, 16th-21st July, 1913.*

Princess Reuss who came to see me yesterday told me that the absence of the Emperor was understood by no-one and was creating the worst impression. Bulgaria is suffering every misfortune simultaneously, for now the Turks are taking up the campaign again and are profiting by the unhoped for situation. It would be very funny if they succeeded in reconquering a bit of Thrace and Adrianople. The Bulgarians are cruelly expiating their crimes. Now you see what it is to possess an exaggerated idea of one's own strength and abuse it *vis-à-vis* allies whose services one has depreciated in order to take the part of the lion and assure for oneself for ever the hegemony of the Balkans. They say Berchtold is giving up and will be replaced by Monsieur de Bilinski, a Pole quite unknown as a statesman. But I believe that in Austria they positively haven't got anyone who is competent any longer.

Here there is a scandal in connection with Krupps<sup>1</sup> they are trying to smother as far as they can but which none-the-

<sup>1</sup> It came to light that the great armament firm of Krupp of Essen had paid agents in Government Departments whose practice it was to bribe Government officials, and that officers in the Army and Navy had divulged confidential information. There was a trial and the principal offenders were sent to prison (W. H. Dawson, *The German Empire*.)—Editor.

### *The King of Rumania Intervenes*

less doesn't mean that it isn't extremely serious. Yesterday they said that eight gunner officers had been arrested.

What will be left of Bulgaria between the Rumanians who are at the gates of Sofia and the Turks who are on the point of taking Adrianople? Enver Bey with Adrianople may perhaps be rather a trial to his Government. The political situation maintains the character of general brigandage. Europe's voice will certainly be heard only if she acts, but if she keeps quiet no-one will listen and her words will fall on deaf ears. These airs of an arbitrator which the King of Rumania has assumed seem funny enough after what he's done, but the Powers are so afraid of compromising themselves in these Balkan questions that they would rather he did it all.

Bichette writes me from Vienna: "I have seen Berchtold who said to me firmly, 'I am remaining to make peace and not war, as you believe.' As for me I can't understand the political follies of the Bulgarians. Is it the King who hitherto has always shown himself so crafty? Is it the military party? Is it external forces which have brought about the cataclysm? Lichtenstein with whom we were talking yesterday said that it was all the King's fault."

If they reach an agreement at Bucharest it certainly won't be for long because it's impossible for the Eastern Question to be settled peaceably for all time in its present condition. One will always have to look out for plots woven in Vienna and for constant intervention by the Powers who up till the present have known only how to make a mess of things. For instance the Turkish reconquest which I can scarcely believe spontaneous.

I expect you are reading about the Krupp case in the papers. . . . Very curious! It only shows how immoral everything has become in German military circles.

*Kleinitz, 10th August, 1913.*

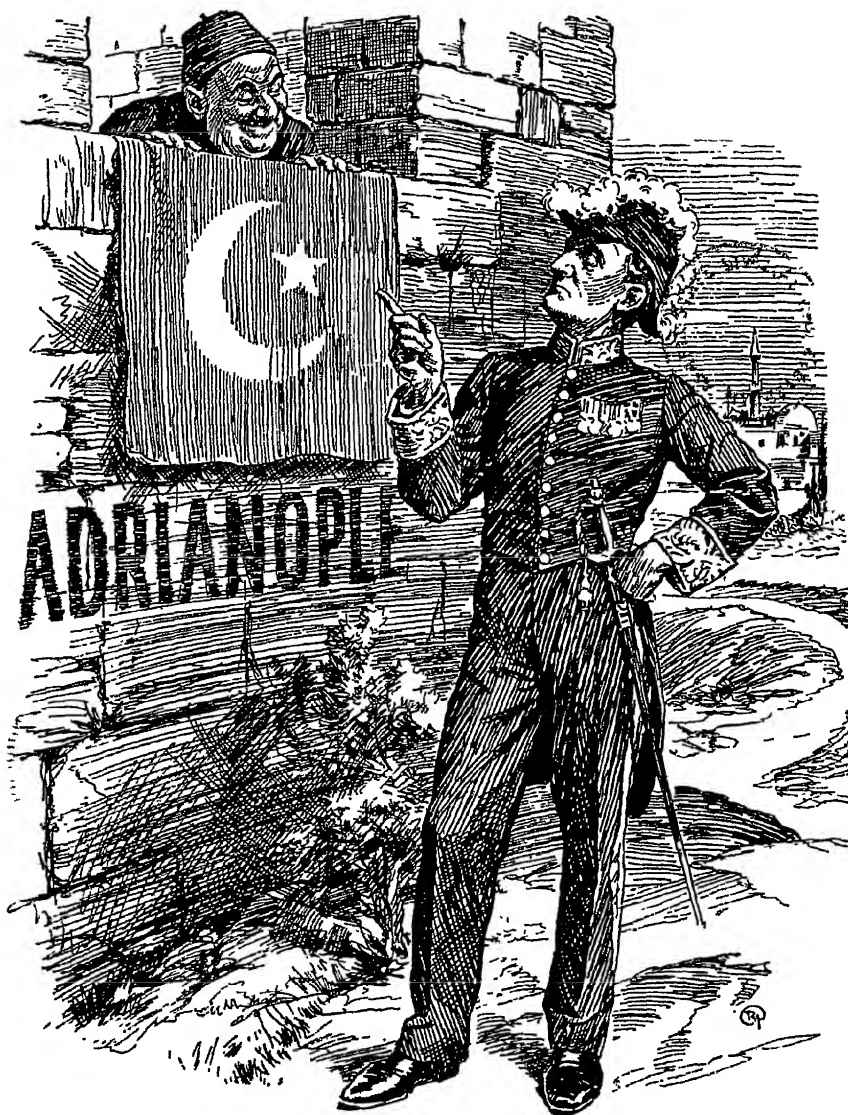
And now peace is signed. But alas it is most improbable that this Treaty of Bucharest will be a settlement ! Already Austria is aspiring to a revision wherein her greedy desires would find a place. It seems to me they haven't touched on Albania and the Islands, and the important matter of Adrianople remains like a question mark. In all those things there will be almost insurmountable difficulties which are very alarming and I fear that Italy is in for more than one sort of annoyance. Austria with her policy of crookedness and hatred for Italy is appalling. That Power will always adopt a harmful rôle. It is her nature. Besides it was in obedience to her suggestions that Bulgaria finds herself in her present sorry plight and devoid of the fruits of her former victories. I regret to see Italy at the side of Austria who will always deceive you. As regards your wranglings with France I can't explain them but I am sure they are only the outcome of misunderstandings and grossly exaggerated by the Press.

*Kleinitz, 18th August, 1913.*

Austria is renouncing the revision of the Treaty of Bucharest but she wishes to have the last word as if that were not the same thing. Your papers seem pleased at what has been decided about the Islands in the Ægean Sea. But what also pleased me is that the tone of your press and the French has a better appearance.

*Kleinitz, 22nd August, 1913.*

What do you say of the Balkans : Are we marching towards a third war : Yesterday with Princess Reuss I saw a very amusing caricature in *Punch*. The British Minister all dressed up in uniform with his cocked hat on is threatening



#### A QUESTION OF DETAIL

*Sir Edward Grey:* You'll have to go, you know. The concert feels very strongly about that.

*Turkey:* And who's going to turn me out?

*Sir Edward Grey:* Curious you should ask me that; it's the one point we haven't decided. Have you any preference in the matter?

*By kind permission of the Proprietors of "Punch"*

1913]

*The "Eastern Question"*

an aged Turk in a stone house in Adrianople. The latter is watching the Minister through a window where he can't be touched and laughing at this diplomat with the most sprightly smile imaginable. I laughed from the bottom of my heart and thought how the audacity of the Ottomans is embarrassing Europe.

*Kleinitz, 6th September, 1913.*

Politics are still where they were. Negotiations don't advance and one doesn't know how far one can count on the promises which Bulgaria will end by giving. It appears King Ferdinand is in the blackest despair, and that it is Danew who brought about the second war having completely ousted the King. I can't imagine how he managed it, but what is very important is the fact that the publication of the dispatches exchanged between the King of Rumania and the Emperor William on the subject of peace has so annoyed Austria that the Austrians are furious with the latter, and the Emperor Francis Joseph has been so particularly hurt he won't forgive him for a long time. This is what my grandson tells me and he is in a position to know.

*Kleinitz, 11th September, 1913.*

I don't know whether matters are being arranged between Constantinople and Sofia. The newspapers daily announce that the entente is completed and even that an alliance will be concluded between Turkey and Bulgaria! I confess I find this difficult to believe. Bulgaria's hatred and that of her King is far too great for reason alone to achieve such a result. I am afraid we shall have to wait a long time for that peace so desirable for Europe and so necessary for those two utterly impoverished countries. Bulgaria is also exhausted in men.



### *Austro-Russian Détente*

The toasts exchanged between the Emperor William and the King of Greece are making an unfortunate impression in France. It seems very bad taste to me, to boast in that way when all the world knows it is General Eydoux who re-organised the Greek army. It is very nice to be victorious but victory without a sense of justice and devoid of generosity spoils everything. It's all deplorable.

This war in Germany against the Foreign Legion is not only completely unjustified but also full of danger. The least spark might cause a great disaster.

*Kleinitz, 15th September, 1913.*

The German papers talk a lot about the poor results of the manoeuvres and the Emperor's bad temper is not disguised. Added to this the words exchanged with the King of Greece you can understand that we have had a poor week. Unfortunately here they are so convinced that all other nations can be treated with contempt. . . .

Cholera is approaching. From Rumania it has jumped to Hungary, from Hungary to Bohemia where there are several cases at Marienbad. It's this beastly war which is the cause of it. Austria and Russia seem to be making it up. So much the better, this will postpone the general war in the offing which is to be feared. Helen who knows the Russian Court well declares the Czar has very French sentiments and that personally he's all for the alliance with France, whereas his circle are very pro-German.

*Kleinitz, 18th September, 1913.*

The King of Greece is very embarrassed about his forthcoming Paris visit. The Emperor often amuses himself by compromising Sovereigns *vis-à-vis* France, not thinking sufficiently of the consequences. It is all very childish.

1913]

*General Eydoux—Franz Ferdinand*

Word has been passed to the newspapers not to regale their readers with accounts of the last manœuvres which were so unsuccessful. Balloons and aviators were quite useless they were so badly handled and several were lost. There are many complaints about the shortage of officers and the bad quality of those who are appointed on account of the exaggerated growth of the army.

I think they will soon regret this useless increase which is ruining the country.

*Kleinitz, 23rd–27th September, 1913.*

So far all has gone off all right in Paris with the King of Greece. The French are being polite but they say that General Eydoux won't return to there. The Servians won't forget Austria's insults for a long time. The latter will probably pay dearly one day for what she now regards as a great diplomatic victory.

An Austrian friend who was here for twenty-four hours told me that Austria's condition was most precarious. Anyone who is in the least enlightened has the feeling the end of this Empire is at hand and the death of Francis Joseph will be the overture to the final catastrophe. The Heir-to-the-Throne is regarded as very unwell. An old illness of which they believed he was cured is thought to have gone to his brain and there is the greatest apprehension about his mental powers. His wife doesn't leave him for an instant, during the manœuvres she followed him about everywhere and during these he made several mistakes which seemed very odd. Towards the end he ordered a grand parade and march past before his wife and children "to amuse them." General Conrad whom the Archduke detests refused to take part saying that the army was not created to amuse children. It is probable that this refusal and his differences with the

### *The Archduke Charles*

Archduke were the reasons for the resignation of the general who must be the most distinguished man in the Austrian army.

The Archduke Charles, Franz-Ferdinand's nephew and successor has taken to drink to such an extent that he is becoming a brute. Assuredly all this will lead to most serious consequences. Furthermore everything to-day tends to depress one ; it seems as if it must all begin again in the Balkans ; Albanian complications are to the fore, the Greeks are also very excited and it is maintained that if peace is made at Constantinople this is to bring about an entente between Bulgar and Turk against Greece.

I am copying here part of a letter from Berlin which will interest you. "I was in France when King Constantine's reply to the Emperor became known. Its effect was considerable and was felt even by the uneducated classes of the nation. I heard German affairs being discussed almost in the same tone as in 1911. According to to-day's Press yesterday's toast at the Elysée doesn't seem to have done much to repair the evil. In France they feel that it was a real cry from the heart which escaped the King's lips in Berlin, whilst at Paris these same lips were merely reciting an unconvincing official harangue. And what is more how can he make reparation for such language as that at the Anhalter railway station and how convince people with all the excuses imaginable, invented or genuine. . . . Isn't it known when the King before his journey asked that the insignia of his new dignity should be given him, the person who was to fulfil this mission was informed not to worry about His Majesty's Field-Marshal's bâton as the Emperor was counting on sending it himself. And although the journey wasn't official the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Jagow, received the Order of the Saviour."

*Kleinitz, 1st October, 1913.*

In Italy you certainly make mistakes but you have got men and your King has only to choose. Your finances are very well managed and your country has been supporting a heavy war for two years without having recourse to a loan. It is an example which Germany might follow. There are no longer enough men on the land and Berlin lacks workmen. An imperial decree has created four hundred and fifty new officers from an inferior class because there were not enough of the right kind owing to the new army corps.

In France they are doing what they can not to be taken by surprise and I find they are exhibiting tremendous patience there in not replying and keeping calm in the face of all the insults which the German Press are continually hurling at their heads. There isn't a day when our papers aren't full of them. It is a disgrace for a country of Germany's standing to behave like this to a country which she has conquered.

*Kleinitz, 5th-9th October, 1913.*

I have scarcely read the papers here but I see there has been trouble at the Court at Berlin with the Cumberlands.<sup>1</sup> The Government wanted the Duke and his son, the Emperor's son-in-law, to make an official declaration renouncing the Throne of Hanover for all time. . . . They both refused and the young Princess now a Guelf cried out, "Never." And this question which should have been settled before the marriage has become a thorn which will always be pricking Prussia and her Sovereign. . . . You must admit German diplomacy leaves something to be desired. One doesn't behave like this and in high quarters they don't know how to get out of the difficulty. When the Chancellor told him

<sup>1</sup> See Note on "Hanover-Prussian Squabble."

### *The Hall Porter at the Ballplatz*

as he was the Emperor's son-in-law he ought to renounce Hanover officially the young Prince is said to have replied, "In my house honour comes first, love afterwards."

Things are still the same in the Balkans. King Ferdinand has left Sofia and gone abroad. The phrase is extremely vague and I don't know where he has betaken himself. The Bulgarians are crying out for vengeance, and King Constantine must have regained his territories with very mixed feelings. The ovations of his people will have been a distraction for him.

In Vienna everyone is talking about the manœuvres ordered by the Archduke and his foolish squabble with Conrad. The latter had not been to Mass one Monday morning and the Archduke in a fit of passion made a great scene in front of the whole General Staff. Conrad replied that he had the manœuvres to direct and hadn't time to go to Mass on week-days. The Emperor had to intervene to stop the General's resignation. The newspapers are storming and they have called these manœuvres "Sophie's Battle."

Berchtold is more childish than ever. It seems he is asking advice from everybody, even the Hall-Porter at the Ballplatz !

There was a good article lately in the *Cologne Gazette*, an official paper. The article is friendly towards France, and leads me to hope that at last they understand in Berlin the danger of allowing their desire for supremacy which devours every German and robs him of discernment, to be too much in evidence. It is certainly the Emperor and not the Chancellor who has given this new tone.

*Kleinitz, 13th October, 1913.*

They say in this morning's paper that the Cumberland difficulty is out of the way and that the young couple will

soon make their *entrées* into Brunswick, but nothing is said about how the quarrel was smoothed over and matters settled. As things have been explained to me, I find it difficult to understand because the question is extremely complicated and heads are pretty hot.

It appears Admiral von Breussing in an article in the *Magdeburg Gazette* assures everybody that a Franco-German war is absolutely necessary, even inevitable, that the aim of the German Fleet now in the Mediterranean is in the event of war, in combination with the Italian, to hinder the transport of French troops from Africa, and that this aim will be all the easier to achieve as the French Fleet possesses no fast cruisers. There you have an example of the kind of friendly article one finds daily in the Press of this country!

In the meantime Poincaré's Spanish journey is quite a triumph. The King is exhibiting the greatest eagerness. Both he and the President in their speeches pronounced the word "entente" and everything leads to the supposition that it exists and that Morocco is its objective. They cannot be pleased about it in Berlin because the German papers scarcely mention the President's journey and if allusion is made to it this is only to say people are mistaken and there is no entente.

*Kleinitz, 17th October, 1913.*

One does nothing but fête all the anniversaries of 1813. Now it is the Battle of Leipzig which with the Government's supervision is agitating everybody. From what is reported in the papers these preparations will be the occasion for a mass of tactlessness and ungenerous thoughts. On Sunday a pageant is to go all through Berlin and process past the Emperor. This is to be partly an historical affair with period costumes and among the groups there will be three, the first a representation of French soldiers in flight, the next

*Centenary Festivities—The Emperor's Tact*

one, French prisoners guarded by Prussian soldiers, and the third, collections of French flags captured by the allied troops. How can one expect French feelings not to be hurt ?

The Greeks are anxious about the Turks and extremely embarrassed over their Sovereign's latest European journey. It's a prank which will have not only international consequences but there will in all probability be a sequel in the interior of Greece. Venizelos is going to find himself in the same position *vis-à-vis* his Sovereign as Prince Bülow and the Emperor after the famous days of November 1908. They both pleaded extenuating circumstances not wishing to espouse the cause of the Crown. King Constantine will bear in mind the day when it will seem feasible to dispense with his Prime Minister.

*Berlin, 21st October, 1913.*

Here I am since yesterday and at one o'clock I'm going on to Paris. The Emperor is supposed to be very depressed. The behaviour of his son who is being pushed on by the Pan-Germanists is a great sorrow to him. To-morrow the twenty-eight officers who were burnt in the latest Zeppelin are to be buried. What a dreary ceremony !

The Emperor was not present at the great procession about which I told you and he forbade them to march past the French Embassy.

*Paris, 25th October, 1913.*

Fine weather is keeping everyone in the country and there are very few people in Paris. However yesterday I had a meal with the British Ambassador and also the Russian. I had a long talk with Iswolski who says that he can't get over the progress that has been made in France, whether from a moral or a military point of view, and that France owes this

1913]      *Iswolski's Views—The Pan-Germanists*

to Germany. In Germany, he said, they regard it all as chauvinism and they won't understand that the French see further than they. Iswolski seems to have no little hatred towards Germany and from his point of view I can understand it. But it is above all Berchtold and Austria with whom he feels so outraged. Words failed him to express his indignation at her policy.

*Paris, 29th October, 1913.*

I have been told that last Monday there were conversations here between France and Germany on the subject of the Foreign Legion, a matter which the Pan-Germanists have been busily stirring up for some months. In Berlin they're afraid of the trouble which questions in Parliament on the subject might raise and they are anxious to prevent this. It is a matter which is solely the concern of France and no-one abroad has any right to interfere. The institution dates from 1831 and all the complaints of the Pan-Germanists are founded on false data, as the French have been able to prove. Hence these protests are not understood here. What harm that party are doing Germany—and to think that those people have the Crown Prince at their head the better to be able to oppose his father's government !

*Berlin, 10th November, 1913.*

Here I am more or less settled and taking up my life in Berlin. I have already seen a few people and I observe that the matter of the new taxes is preoccupying society more than anything else. One has a sense of dismay everywhere. What appalls people are all the different plans which are to be carried out simultaneously, such as the building of a colossal new opera house to be put up in the Krollplatz flanked on either side by two palaces, one destined for the



## *Zabern*

Emperor, the other for the Crown Prince, and an underground railway. Briefly, a mass of absolutely useless expenditure while no attempt is being made to extinguish a single debt.

They don't want to talk about the affair of the Crown Prince of Brunswick. Word has gone forth both sides are satisfied, there have been mistakes, but that everything would be settled. I have the feeling it's only on the surface and that there will be many more words over the Brunswick-Hanover business. Our ruling circles never suspected the bitterness of 1866 still persisted. Illusion reigns everywhere here. It was believed the Hanoverians were completely Prussian in heart and soul; the Government were obliged to spend money in preventing a serious Guelf demonstration during the Brunswick homecoming, and they fear awkward questions in Parliament. The Empress has been terribly upset by all that has happened and she has been taken to Wilhelmshöhe for a few days' rest.

*Berlin, 14th November, 1913.*

I think you will have read in the papers of the Zabern<sup>1</sup> incidents and of the way our officers treat Alsatian soldiers. Can one be surprised if those people prefer to flee and join the Foreign Legion rather than submit to such outrages? A propos of the Legion, which rouses the ire of all the Pan-Germanists, it appears they are continuing the conversations in Paris and that a happy outcome may be anticipated. So much the better.

*Berlin, 21st November, 1913.*

Their Majesties have returned to the Neues Palais. The Emperor has caught cold and this morning's paper announces that he must keep to his room. I think he is really ill with

<sup>1</sup> See note on "The Zabern Affair," pp. 348-9.

1913]

*A Heart Attack*

grief in connection with an adventure of his daughter-in-law, Princess Eitel-Fritz (*née* Oldenburg). Six weeks ago the Princess went off with a Herr von Flottenburg. At first they had great difficulty in finding her and it was only a few days ago that the Prince decided to go and look for her himself. As a result of prayers and promises he managed to persuade his wife to return. But a woman in that frame of mind is not likely to inspire much confidence. They managed to suppress the affair for a bit, but now it is as public as can be. The Emperor is very distressed and I'm not surprised if it has made him ill. He thought his family were above all such weaknesses !

Prince Loewenstein has sold his woods so well he hasn't a tree left. He is reduced to poverty. Friedländer is very ill. His daughter's marriage with an English lord is the cause. He is afraid of the Emperor's disfavour. The latter always told him that he didn't want his daughter to marry a foreigner—he wanted him to keep all the money in Germany. Don't you think it would be better if His Majesty didn't interfere ?

*Berlin, 4th December, 1913.*

I have had a heart-attack such as I have never had before which has made me realise how fragile we are and how, in health, we can go from the best to the worst possible !

I don't know whether you are following in the papers what is happening in Alsace-Lorraine.<sup>1</sup> Never has a government been known to behave with such clumsiness, stupidity and lack of skill. No-one is able to imagine what they want, everybody is furious and one feels that the worst can emerge from an affair like this.

<sup>1</sup> See note on "The Zabern Affair," pp. 348-9.

## *Zabern*

*Berlin, 28th December, 1913.*

The Zabern agitation is quieter as Parliament is on holiday but that business isn't over and will leave its traces behind. It seems that the Crown Prince sent a telegram to Colonel von Reuter congratulating him on his excellent conduct and another one to the Emperor categorically demanding that Reuter should be rewarded and promoted. It was after this the Crown Prince was recalled from Danzig and appointed to the General Staff in order to have him more under control. The poor Emperor must be very put out. He must be afraid of his son not to reply to all these goings on by some show of authority. This is what I hear being said on all sides.

## Chapter VII

1914—1915

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*Berlin, 5th—13th January, 1914.*

I HOPE you haven't a Zabern affair like we have here. The effect it is having is deplorable. The country is divided into two camps, the military people are triumphant, the civilians crying out at injustice. This latest one is really flagrant. We don't know where we are with the régime to which we are condemned here. Everyone is afraid, discontent general and individuals would like to flee from such an unenviable country.

This morning I got a letter from Count Hatzfeldt with this sentence which is more or less on everybody's lips: "Since this Zabern case we now know that from henceforth we shall be governed solely by the military. Civilians are excellent animals to mulct. This sort of thing can't go on and if I were free and younger I should leave the country."

Poincaré has announced his visit to the German Embassy in Paris, a fact which is very much exciting Berlin. One must see in this a desire to behave well. The Emperor will be personally very pleased about it because he is the only one who doesn't want war, but this isn't so with the others who would like to see blood flowing.

I know that Schoen is well looked upon in official circles in Paris, where they find him particularly conciliatory in his methods.

### *Ernst August Receives Dukedom of Brunswick*

Enver Bey does not give me the impression of being a tactful person but on the contrary a madman. Interference by the German element in the administration of that country seems a terrible imprudence *vis-à-vis* other nations.

*Berlin, 17th-21st January, 1914.*

Yesterday we had the arrival of the young Duke of Brunswick who is making his first official visit. To-day he is to be made a Knight of the Black Eagle. The Emperor as well as the Crown Prince received him at the railway station, the latter embraced him. This has served to calm public opinion which had been much concerned about the squabble of the two brothers-in-law !

The debates on Zabern have made plain that all these things were premeditated. The Pan-German military party want war at all costs. It's not easy to restrain them and their methods are despicable.

Colonel Reuter, the hero of Zabern, was decorated last Sunday to the stupefaction of all who don't belong to the Pan-Germanists. It is nothing but provocations which will have far-reaching results. The blustering of Lieutenant Förstner and the shouting of the Zabern urchins have set on foot a grave political conflict in the whole Empire which is daily increasing and exposing the latent antagonism of two German peoples so utterly different.

*Berlin, 14th February, 1914.*

. . . People are very kind to me here. I would indeed be very ungrateful to complain, but I should like to be out of this atmosphere and not hear these Alsatian matters talked about any more. Everything there is deplorable. The Government is becoming more and more at cross purposes with that country, it employs yet more severity as if there

1914] *Alsace Lorraine—Prince William of Wied*

weren't enough already. These perpetual carryings-on are forcing a province which is partly German solely to desire to become French again. Morally Alsace is absolutely lost to Germany. And things are the same with Poland and Holstein. What superb management! Note than in Hanover, Brunswick, and in all those countries annexed by Prussia in recent wars they are regretting their former sovereigns, and it is only now that their discontent is being noticed after an association of forty-four years! What it is to be blind and utterly devoid of any perspicacity!

*Berlin, 26th February, 1914.*

I think Parliament won't delay in resuming work. One hears no more about Bethmann's being replaced. *Faute-de-mieux* the Emperor wants to keep him. They are looking for a Governor for Alsace-Lorraine because Wedel is only staying on until they have found his successor. It's not a very enviable post. Everyone knows this and hitherto all those who have been approached by the Emperor have refused not only promptly but almost brusquely. They say that with the instructions they would be given from Berlin there would be no means of governing that country.

*Berlin, 2nd March, 1914.*

The Prince of Albania has made his last visit in Europe and is about to embark for a destination which I am far from envying him. He doesn't take his new position at all seriously and thinks only of the external luxury. Imagine!—Besides the numerous liveries which he has had made, he has also ordered special clothes for his ministers. He has even invented three different grades for each one! My God! how poor-spirited one must be to think that uniforms and liveries could be a good augury for reigning over those

### *Prince Wied's New Military Uniform*

Highlanders ! The Emperor has persuaded them to give up taking their children with them for the time being. They are to remain at Potsdam. The Prince of Wied has arrayed himself in a military uniform of his own composition which appears to me quite grotesque. I think he would do better to leave the Albanians in their national dress and not be so attached to ridiculous details which are of no importance.

*Berlin, 5th March, 1914.*

For the last few days our newspapers have been talking only of Russian armaments and the possibility of an approaching war with that Power. They are trying in the opposition Press to under-rate and more or less deny these reports because if there must be a war they don't want to give the impression of being the aggressors. Cardinal Kopp is dead and people here are very sorry. There will soon be a consistory at Rome I believe, and they will be obliged to give the Hat to another German bishop.

*Berlin, 10th March, 1914.*

. . . We are rather chilly with Russia whose armaments are dismaying many people here. I cannot conceive how the Germans who are arming to the teeth can exhibit astonishment if their neighbours do the same to protect themselves. It demonstrates an extraordinary lack of logic. The other day I saw a Frenchman who had been spending a week at Châlons on private business. He found French officers there very troubled about the uninterrupted German efforts to fortify the frontier. Imagine, Germany is at present busy building four railway lines from Basle to Strasburg. They frankly admit that this is to facilitate the concentration of troops in the event of a declaration of war. Their naval and military budgets amount to more than two milliards without

counting extras. Business is being killed by new taxes, shops are shutting one after another, and rooms are empty because nobody wishes, or rather can afford to have them in town.

The Prince of Wied seems little fitted to govern anyone, and the Albanians least of all. His wife has more intelligence than her husband, but she possesses still more ambition than intelligence and being able to be treated to the title of Majesty has turned her head. They say the Queen of Rumania did much to persuade the Wieds to accept this wretched crown.

*Berlin, 18th March, 1914.*

. . . People are being rather unjust to France, because one can't deny that in face of German provocations she is obliged to take precautions, to arm as best she can and not to neglect alliances. By her loans she has been able to hold Russia which is a great help.

What is really deplorable is the imprudence of the German Press these latter days in exciting minds against Russia as it did against England last year. It's no use having illusions. Russia which last year felt well disposed towards Germany this year is feeling hatred towards her. I hear this on all sides.

Only the Emperor Nicholas is against war just as the Emperor William is here. All the rest believe themselves to be masters of the whole world merely by exhibiting themselves without even fighting. Conceit in this country has taken its seat on a pinnacle.

The Emperor paid me a very long visit the other day. It lasted from half-past four until a quarter-past six. He spoke at length about the dearth of Cardinals in Germany at the present time, and he maintained that if anything should happen to the Pope there wouldn't be any Germans in the



### *The Emperor Pays Me a Visit*

Conclave. The choice of a successor to Cardinal Kopp is preoccupying him very much. He wanted my views on the subject. I therefore suggested Prince Max of Saxony, but he finds him and rightly not very intelligent ; Monsignor de Croy, who was once an officer in the Guards at Potsdam and who last year was the bearer of the papal letter for the Emperor's jubilee. He said nothing. Then lastly I spoke of Prince Hohenlohe, son of the former Marshal of the Court of Vienna and a Wittgenstein. This Prince is a Benedictine. At the word "Benedictine" the Emperor cried out, "A Benedictine, that would be splendid. They are men of science, with a profound sense of duty and knowledge of the world, who inspire the greatest confidence in me. . . . I don't know the one you've mentioned but I will find out all about him at once."

The Emperor also talked a lot about the critical spirit of the German Press as a whole and the Germans in particular. One can see that he is suffering from all the faults attributed to him. He doesn't talk about it but he feels it and it is on that account he has given up reading the papers. I very much regret it.

*Berlin, 22nd March, 1914.*

This morning the Emperor inaugurates the new library which he has had built on the place of the old Academy of Fine Arts opposite the old Emperor's palace on Unter den Linden. To-night he sets out on his journey to Corfu. He has postponed the appointment of the Governor of Alsace-Lorraine until his return which is having a very bad effect on the general public. The latter desire that all these matters should be settled as soon as possible and find it most unwise to leave things in suspense as the Government are doing at present. I assume there are things in the background which

1914]    *The Throne of Hanover—Bülow—The Pope*

have not transpired. It is the same with Brunswick where nothing has been settled as yet, and the visit which the Duke of Cumberland paid to Homburg last year hasn't been returned. Here they would like the Duke to say finally, "I am renouncing Hanover for ever." Not only is the Duke making no such renunciation but he is sending letters to his partisans in Hanover in which he is thanking them for remaining faithful to him. This is not forgiven at Berlin and they are even outraged with the Emperor's daughter who has so splendidly taken up her husband's cause that she dreams only of becoming one fine day the Queen of Hanover. As the young Duchess has a great influence on her father she thinks she will achieve this dream so desired by herself, her husband, and her father-in-law.

*Rome, 4th April, 1914.*

I have had a long visit from Bülow who is little edified by the policy which is being carried out in Berlin at present, by the clumsiness with which our authorities have behaved in the Zabern affair, and by the negligence with which the Emperor treated the matter because it is very serious. The policy of Austria astonishes him and does not inspire any confidence.

*Rome, 8th April, 1914.*

I had my audience with the Pope the day before yesterday. He was very good, very affable, gave us his blessing, but we had no conversation. Afterwards I went and saw Cardinal Merry del Val, handsome as usual in spite of hair made white under the weight of work which he does not lack, as he said, and looking as much a *grand seigneur* as it is possible to be. He made us sit down and we had an extremely interesting conversation on the subject of the churches in Poland under

### *King George and Queen Mary in Paris*

the Russian sceptre and those in Posen under the German. The Cardinal is exceedingly well informed about everything which is happening, remembers every Polish name no matter how difficult and didn't conceal from us the difficulties he foresees in the negotiations with these two countries in connection with the new appointments of the Bishops who are to be replaced.

I read the papers little but I am reading enough to see that the Prince of Albania is already in an awkward position. Good will does not suffice, one must have a little talent as well. I believe he accepted the offer of Albania without suspecting what he would find in that country and without taking into account the difficulties which would daily beset his path. He is one of those men who believe that it suffices to be a Prussian officer to impose on others and succeed. Berlin and Potsdam are now overflowing with that type.

In Paris there are other echoes. . . . What eloquence Briand has and what a speech ! What talents they possess in the French middle class. I don't believe that in any other country that class is so enlightened.

I was very much struck the other day by the way Bülow spoke and the manner in which he grasps the unsatisfactory transformation which is taking place in his country and the poverty of the policy they are carrying out. This latter is far from pleasing all Germans you may be sure.

*Rome, 28th April, 1914.*

I haven't as yet any news of the election in France. From Berlin I haven't had a letter. The visit of the King and Queen of England to Paris must be making not a little bad blood in Germany because it has been emphasised that England wished to follow the policy of understanding initiated by Edward the Seventh and that Russia was also intending

1914] *Caillaux Scandal—Birth of Ernst-August*

to strengthen the alliance which has lasted for so many years. If this would give us peace . . . so much the better.

*Paris, 9th May, 1914.*

The French papers are full of the Caillaux affair and in society one talks of nothing but this lamentable story.<sup>1</sup> Those in question are as little interesting as they are undesirable. Everyone here is disgusted without considering how to get rid of people like that. Ah money ! It has led many astray, here and elsewhere.

According to the papers the Emperor's visit to Alsace didn't last very long. He took refuge as it were at Karlsruhe. The measures which the new Governor wants to take at Strasburg are excessively rigorous and will bring nothing good according to Prince Hohenlohe whom I saw yesterday.

Did you notice in the papers that at the Brunswick baptism the Duke of Cumberland wasn't present ?<sup>2</sup> Only the Duchess, proof that that matter isn't settled yet.

If you read the German papers you will see that Germany isn't quite the friend you believe.

*Paris, 17th–20th May, 1914.*

Yesterday their Danish Majesties arrived in Paris. Great display of troops all along the Champs Elysées as far as the Palais Bourbon where the King and Queen got out. Great attention on the part of the public in receiving them, but enthusiasm became frantic when the French flag passed.

Signor Salandra's speech has made a good impression everywhere. He must be a very distinguished man.

Pray God that what has just happened in Albania won't

<sup>1</sup> Madame Caillaux, the ex-Minister's second wife, shot Monsieur Gaston Calmette, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Figaro*, in his office on the 12th March.

<sup>2</sup> Ernst-August, Prince of Hanover, was born on the 18th March, 1914.

### *Troubles in Albania*

upset your country's peaceful inclinations too much. The Prince of Wied is in a very difficult position and he will certainly be the victim of the revolutionaries. Italy has great interests at stake in not letting Austria seize the whole of that country as she would like, and if things were to become embittered between Italians and Austrians we should soon see the beginning of hostilities which would go the round of Europe. I confess I have the greatest apprehensions. It would be a general war, the most terrible that one can imagine. With her exaggerated armaments Germany has unprecedented responsibilities.

*Paris, 25th May, 1914.*

I left Paris with an impression of events in Albania which seem to me daily to be assuming a more serious aspect. War which is threatening us like a sword of Damocles over our heads will break out one of these fine days in spite of the fact that neither the Powers of the Triple Alliance nor the Triple Entente want war. It is written alas ! and all the contriving of the two allied groups is only a conglomeration of the intrigues, rivalry and ambitions of a few men.

Austria is at the head of all this sorry business and has set a bad example . . . In Berlin they are very down on the Prince of Wied for having fled with his family although he's back at Durazzo again now. In Paris they have a little joke that the Prince is well named Wied as his head is so *vide*, i.e. empty.

The Emperor is at Potsdam more enchanted than ever with Corfu. He has had some excavations made which are affording him enormous pleasure and he can talk of nothing else. He wants to avoid any topic which might worry him. It's all very childish, ingenuous even, and is the despair of his ministers and many others. Of course these excavations,

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*Corfu—Inferior Army Officers*

which are not real excavations, aren't worth considering and it would be much better to be thinking about the Balkans or Albania and the Pan-Germanists ; of what is likely to be the outcome in the Near East and of events in Alsace and Poland, etc.

Schoen told me that he had had to send a celebrated Lyons photographer called Lumière to Corfu. He does coloured photography. The Emperor wanted this man to reproduce the beauties of his beloved island. Lumière has got back and is busy developing the photographs he took at the Emperor's orders. I'm told they are really very good.

*Dlonie, 29th May, 1914.*

I left Berlin Wednesday morning to come here to Prince and Princess Drucki Lubecki to whom I owed a visit for the one they paid me at Kleinitz last year. There is a Reichstag deputy here who has been telling us a lot of interesting things about what has been going on in the lobbies. It was through him that I got to hear of the appointment of the Prince Archbishop of Breslau. It is the Bishop of Hildersheim who has received the Palm. He was the candidate of the centre party, nice and pliable—the party will be able to manage him pretty well as they please. The deputy told us last night that even in the army they are quite worried about the enormous increases which were made last year. They are realising (a little too late) that if the German army is gaining in quantity, it is losing a great deal in quality. Officers have had to be taken from an inferior social class which has created a thousand difficulties which had not been foreseen. I don't feel however that these fears will arrest the lively zeal of the Pan-Germanists !

Bichette writes me Mühlberg told her it was Merry del Val who didn't want Hohenlohe the Benedictine for Breslau.

*Konopsicht—War Preparations in Alsace*

Mühlberg had very precise orders from his master to support this candidate (doubtless as a result of my conversation). How oddly human affairs turn out sometimes.

*Kleinitz, 2nd June, 1914.*

I find that the Albanian conflict is not being solved at all. Prince Wied has acquired a reputation which won't help his prestige and I have the feeling that we are witnessing a great drama. The Emperor of Austria is getting better, he has already been for walks in the park at Schönbrunn. I doubt whether this is affording any very great pleasure to the *Laird* of Konopsicht (the Heir-to-the-Throne). It seems that the latter only goes to Vienna for a few hours at a time and remains at his schloss where they are entertaining and having shooting parties. On the 12th June they are expecting the Emperor William for a couple of days although rumour has it that the entente between these two isn't what it was.

Helen who has just been spending a few days in Vienna writes as follows: "They seemed to be rather troubled over events in Albania fearing lest these might lead to a conflict with Italy. One must admit that Austria's policy is more idiotic than ever."

My little reader who is an Alsatian tells me of the sorrow which reigns throughout that country and how everything is being prepared for the next war with France. They are cutting down all the trees along the roads as a precaution so as to be better able to see the enemy and proprietors are being obliged to cut down their woods. In fact, they are doing everything they possibly can to annoy the inhabitants.

*Kleinitz, 5th June, 1914.*

It would require a genius to arrange anything lasting for Albania, and Europe is simply putting her head in the sand

1914]

*A Morganatic Marriage*

in believing she can bring happiness to the Albanians in spite of themselves. The Austrian newspapers are filled with bitterness against Italy and they are sowing unhealthy seed which gives me anxiety for the future. So long as the Emperor Francis Joseph goes on living he will manage to prevent war I hope, but after him conflicts might break out from one moment to another with the state of mind of the Heir and a large part of the high circles in Vienna.

In Berlin they are thinking only of the engagement of Prince Oscar the Emperor's fourth son to Countess Bassewitz. This marriage can only be morganatic and the Grand Duchess of Baden writes me she fears this will be a precedent for other unions of this nature. She is very put out about it. It appears the Emperor didn't wish to hear it mentioned, that he absolutely refused to give his consent and that he only gave way at the instigation of the Empress. The latter has shown herself to be kind-hearted but of little intelligence, and the Emperor no longer knows how to resist domestic pressure whether in political or family matters.

*Kleinitz, 10th June, 1914.*

They write me from Vienna dated June 5th: "The diplomats here are having no contact with the Court and with Berchtold being always up in the clouds they don't know where they are. The Emperor doesn't leave Schönbrunn, and only sees those whom his doctor and Montenuovo the Court Chamberlain permit him. The Archduke shuts himself up at Konopsicht and when he comes here he doesn't wish to see Ambassadors so that it won't be thought he is occupied with politics. Every time he has to do with the Emperor on military matters, there are such rows the latter is quite ill afterwards. He is more jealous of his rights than ever, all of which goes to make an abnormal state of affairs



*A New Austrian Ambassador—Godfrey*

and is inducing people to hope for a change of rule even if it were to be stormy. Anything would seem preferable to the present uncertainty and utter stagnation in all business.

"It seems to me that the Prince of Wied is in such a position at Durazzo that it would be wise for him to go off, everyone is giving this advice except Germany and the King of Rumania who tell him just the opposite.

"The Emperor William is doing all he can to maintain peace and his visit to the Archduke had no other motive, but . . . He has Admiral Tirpitz with him who I fear is very warlike and not a particularly wise counsellor."

*Kleinitz, 14th-21st June, 1914.*

My newspaper tells me this morning that the Ribot Ministry has already fallen. Ribot was nevertheless well designed for navigating the political ship through the most rocky seas one can imagine. Reports say Poincaré has again had recourse to Viviani. This will amount to the same !

My daughter scarcely stayed here thirty-six hours. She told me under seal of secrecy the news of the recall of the Austrian Ambassador at Berlin. He has been there twenty years and is worn out. He is to be replaced by Prince Godfrey Hohenlohe. I know him well because he was Counsellor of Embassy at Berlin for a year. His brother is the Governor of Triest, and I think this is a very bad choice as far as we are concerned. This Prince has never been able to inspire the least confidence in me. He was Military Attaché at St. Petersburg during the Japanese War and married one of the numerous daughters of the Archduke Frederick. He was very much patronised by Aerenthal and I can't imagine why Berchtold should have taken him up. We shall see !

Here is a copy of a letter which I have just received from Berlin. "As events in France unfurled themselves I thought

1914]

*Hohenlohe—A Letter from Berlin*

with what anxiety you must have been looking on. Unfortunately I haven't had any other information on the subject except what I've seen in the papers. However I can tell you that our Naval Attaché, who arrived here from Paris the morning of the formation of the Ribot cabinet, did nothing but affirm all day and in every way that it would fall the same evening—that this was an absolute certainty. Then why have attempted an experiment which was more harmful than useful? It was a waste of effort in a hopeless cause. I can't tell you anything about the present cabinet which you don't already know. What most interests us here is its effect on the Quai d'Orsay. We shall have a Secretary of State and an Under-Secretary which wasn't the custom. How are they going to divide their functions and what rôle will the second one, who is a young deputy scarcely in the thirties, assume? It happens that Monsieur Cambon knows him well having been intimately connected with Jules Ferry who was his uncle. But youth doesn't always love its elders. Externally Albanian affairs are becoming worse every day, and the situation in Asia Minor is particularly bad at the present moment on account of the persecution by the Turks of the Greek subject races whom they would like to expel *en masse*."

*Kleinitz, 28th June, 1914.*

My God, what things are happening on political terrain at the present time! Albania is a real Jack-in-the-Box and I can't understand how Prince Wied can still remain there. He has to fight some Austrian treachery at every step. She's more double-faced than ever. I fear you may have to suffer from her treachery in your country because Austria hates you and it's no use pretending she doesn't.

The aged Emperor Francis Joseph, who is probably feeling his decrepitude, is becoming more jealous of his power every

### *The Serajevo Assassinations*

day. I hear that he was simply furious at the Emperor William's visit to Konopsicht the other day. He wept, stormed and carried on as a child might have done. It is senility and I find it all very sad, especially when one occupies such a great position in the world.

*Kleinitz, 30th June, 1914.*

What do you say to the Serajevo drama? Isn't it frightful? I know only a few details at present but everything makes me think it must be a political crime. The Servians can't forgive Austria for having shut them off from an outlet on the Adriatic. You know as well as I the vigour and harshness with which the Austrians have acted towards the Servians who felt that this was a vital matter. Those people are really savages and are only apparently submissive, but their dislikes have been accumulating in their hearts and now we are seeing the splendid results. Francis Joseph looks back on a reign which has been nothing but a succession of gruesome catastrophies and blood.

I am now asking myself whether this murder may not facilitate Austria's policy. Everyone trembled at the thought of seeing this Archduke on the throne of the Hapsburgs and his wife might have been a serious embarrassment.<sup>1</sup> He was very warlike at the bottom of his heart and God knows whether perhaps one shouldn't see the hand of Providence in the tragedy which has just happened.

*Kleinitz, 4th July, 1914.*

Since the death of the Archduke I am less afraid of war for you other people, though it appeared very imminent to

<sup>1</sup> The Princess of Hohenberg, the Heir-Apparent's wife, was born Countess Sophie Chotek. The Choteks are an old Austrian aristocratic family, but not of the blood royal. Importance was attached to this in Austria in those days. [Editor]

1914] *Archduke Charles now Heir to the Throne*

me before. I don't know the tendencies of the new Heir-Apparent. I don't know whether he's warlike or peaceable. . . . I rather fancy that he's nothing in particular. He's twenty-seven years old and his intelligence must be rather limited. They say he drank some years ago. Perhaps he has pulled himself together under the influence of his wife<sup>1</sup> who is said to be charming.

The old Emperor was most distressed but he soon recovered. He feels himself much more the Master again and seems pleased at avoiding the scenes he was always having with the late Archduke. He gives an impression of wishing to educate his new Heir himself. He isn't jealous of him like he was of the other. How odd human nature is. But all that can't make one forget the terrible crime, the savagery with which it was committed and the incredible lack of foresight in the police who should be peculiarly well versed in a country so little civilised as Bosnia. The Servian Minister in Vienna is said to have warned the Ballplatz that a plot was being hatched in Bosnia against the life of the Archduke. Even this didn't open their eyes. It scarcely attracted attention. . . .

The causes and effects of this sad event will be discussed for a long time to come. One must say if the Duchess of Hohenberg has perished also, innocent as she was, she has been spared many grievous difficulties.

*Kleinitz, 8th July, 1914.*

I think the Prince of Wied has reached his last day in Albania and that he is going to embark with his family on an Austrian man-of-war for home. This is the only thing he can do and I don't believe he will preserve happy memories of his adventure. How this prince has been badly advised and ill chosen ! He must be ruined personally and his chil-

<sup>1</sup> Zita, Princess of Bourbon Parme, now ex-Empress.

### *The Albanian Fiasco—A Norwegian Cruise*

dren will find it difficult to forgive him for risking his money on a venture which all the world has told him was such a mistake.

The Emperor has gone off on his Norwegian cruise. He has taken it very badly that Vienna prevented him from attending the funeral of the Archduke whom he regarded as a personal friend, and that they gave him such a very humble funeral owing to his wife not being of royal birth. The Emperor William and the Empress were the only ones who thought of sending a telegram to the children. The Viennese were very touched.

*Kleinitz, 12th July, 1914.*

A little light is beginning to filter through the official despatches on the Serajevo crime. I expect your papers will have reproduced the article in the *Frankfurter Gazette*, from which it appears that the plundering of Servian property in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been unheard of. Neither the Austrian army nor the police did anything. At Serajevo itself one hears of ruins as though the place had undergone a siege. Hotels, offices, Servian shops, etc. Only the walls are left. Everything has been sacked, figures of losses run into millions. Servians who were being attacked telephoned to the police in vain. None came to their rescue and scenes of plunder were witnessed by Austrian officers who remained impassive and ironical and did nothing to help. The article ends by saying that it all recalls the means Austria employed formerly in her dealings with her Italian provinces. History hasn't taught that it has proved particularly successful. . . .

*Kleinitz, 16th July, 1914.*

The Balkans don't look at all healthy, Russia is becoming more and more annoyed with Germany and the whole of

1914]

*Francis Joseph Returns to Ischl*

Europe is very sick. I am expecting guns to go off daily. Here we are on the *qui vive*. Germany has so wounded everybody that she has attracted everyone's hatred and I don't know how it will all end. One cannot help seeing everything very black. The Emperor of Austria has returned to Ischl where he's shooting a lot and amusing himself. His Heir's death has left him more than chilly.

The Grand Duchess of Baden believes she sees Russia behind Servia these last days, and appears very astonished about it! If our leaders are like that where are we?

*Kleinitz, 28th July, 1914.*

Now you see how this deplorable policy of Austria has made the first bomb go off and started a war which had been so clearly anticipated by her for the last few years. Here people are very irritated because they feel themselves to be very close to the Russian frontier and they are asking what is going to happen now. Because it is more than probable once the war has begun it will soon spread and become general. It had all been prepared a long while ago by Austria who didn't know what she was doing. This Power really has been playing with fire.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* which arrived here this morning from Berlin says the Emperor is making haste to return from Norway and that enormous demonstrations are taking place in front of the Russian Embassy. People are afraid that Russia may profit by this accident to declare war and after always making a face at her now they are anxious to exhibit their utmost graciousness. It is all very silly, and I think the Emperor's going off on a pleasure cruise at a moment when he could have seen that affairs demanded his presence at the head of his State showed a lack of foresight on his part. I don't in the least understand the step he has taken through

### *Mobilisation—War*

Schoen at Paris,<sup>1</sup> but I'm so isolated from everybody here that I scarcely know where I am.

*Kleinitz, 2nd August, 1914.*

Yesterday at six o'clock the telephone brought news of the order to mobilise. This morning three of my woodmen went off, this afternoon my cook and my little reader also departed, and from to-morrow there won't be a single able-bodied man left in Kleinitz. They are calling up all the men up to forty-five who have done military service and all the young men of seventeen will be enrolled this year.

*Kleinitz, 9th August, 1914.*

Yesterday my horses were requisitioned. I am left with two donkeys to take me to church on Sunday. There is a question of snatching our priest and making him into an army chaplain—then we shan't have anyone and the church will be closed.

The silence which reigns here has become dismal. However the little Züllichau paper has just announced that the Germans have taken Liège !

I have been cut off from Berlin for a week. Telegraph, post, newspapers, telephone, none function any longer. Here there are only women, children and old people.

*Berlin, 31st August, 1914.*

I have had to leave Kleinitz with the greatest precipitation. They only see spies in this country. At Züllichau they saw

<sup>1</sup> The German Ambassador, Baron von Schoen, communicated a Note to the Quai d'Orsay to the effect that the German Government while approving in principle the Note addressed to Servia by Austria (23rd July) hoped that the disaster would remain localised between Vienna and Belgrade. The German Note also drew attention to the danger which might result from intervention by a third party.

1914] Sir Edward Goschen's "Declaration of War"

a spy in *me* ! And the Landrath of Grüneburg came and implored me to leave the neighbourhood because my servant who is a Russian subject is frowned upon as much as I who am French by birth. I thought it would be as well to come to Berlin where I have taken refuge at the Pariserplatz.

News from Silesia was not very good. The Russians are advancing very quickly in East Prussia and all my neighbours were busy packing up. They have ruined the landscape, cut down the trees, and erected barbed-wire fortifications, in fact made every sort of preparation for defence, and in a short while it is doubtful whether Kleinitz will be habitable because they want to submerge everything with the Oder which they will divert on to our land by the dams and weirs they are getting ready.

Here the population is *en fête*, flags are flying, people are braying in the street. It is appallingly hot. The newspapers talk only of victories even if the enemy is advancing. They are fairly quiet about the French . . . the Russians and the English are the object of unparalleled hatred. The British Ambassador had orders to declare war as soon as Belgian neutrality had been violated. This is what Sir Edward Goschen did when he hurried to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Emperor, immediately informed by telephone, at once sent for the Ambassador to come to the Palace and made a frightful scene, speaking very badly of the King and accusing him of doing something which their mutual Grandmother would never have done. . . . Who knows ?

What puts Germany most in the wrong is having violated Belgian territory and treating that country as if it were conquered, without any consideration for her King who they say has taken refuge at Antwerp. Now we must await a great battle before Paris. I presume this will take place near Châlons and that the French won't ever allow the Germans



### *"A Technical Measure"*

to penetrate into the capital without defending it until they are utterly exhausted.

It seems when mobilisation was decreed in Russia the German Ambassador, Count Pourtalés, rushed off to the Czar and asked him not to sign the order, and the Emperor replied : "It's already been done, but this is only a technical measure ! !"

*Berlin, 9th-21st September, 1914.*

In spite of all denials the evacuation of Lemberg has been a great defeat for the Austrians to whom they were obliged to send four Prussian army corps to start the battle again. The first which lasted ten hours took place entirely on my Son-in-law's property which they say is absolutely ravaged.

Four Russian armies are advancing on Austria and Northern Prussia where at first things were going very badly. They had to send German troops and General Hindenburg who was in France. As the matter was urgent they gave him a coach and an engine and he made this long journey in twenty hours.

As far as I can understand it seems a great battle has been going on for two days before Paris. What will the outcome be ? I am trembling with anxiety as to the final result. Here all is hidden from us and people talk about their enemies with such disdain that it's really scandalous.

They maintain that the Emperor would like a quick peace. He would like to spare France and even not enter Paris. It would be a good idea, but I do not believe the military party will permit him to act in this generous way. Several people however would even like to have an alliance with France and get their own back on the English and Russians. Certainly France wouldn't want this. She will never go back on her allies and she would not have violated a neighbouring country as they have done here with Belgium. À propos of

that country they have instituted a government under the aged Goltz and they are going to give him a cabinet in which they are thinking of putting Schwabach as Finance Minister.

To do honour to the Poles Czapsky has been given the occupation of policing society so as to be able to be well informed of what people are thinking. He's been given an office with the General Staff where he's brought all the gossip of the town. They tell me that there are teas every afternoon in the hotels where people meet and make underwear and socks for the soldiers and there is naturally a lot of tittle-tattle going on. Men and women walk about listening, then immediately run off and report everyone's opinions. It makes Berlin quite unbearable.

At St. Hedwig's Hospital we have three hundred and fifty wounded and sick to look after. The wounds aren't much but the illnesses are serious. A mass of inflammation of the lungs, dysentery, typhus, rheumatism, etc. They have all been brought from East Prussia and they have faces of the other world. They say that for six weeks they haven't changed their linen, nor taken off their clothes or boots, that they have slept only on bare ground, that they seldom had straw, that their nourishment was more than frugal and that they are absolutely exhausted with fatigue. One can see it in their faces. Two wounded who have come back from France relate that the French fought admirably at Metz and that their artillery is splendid—very superior to that of the Germans. This is why the German losses are so frightful and you can't conceive the enormous list we are getting of officers killed.

The poor soldiers are so tired they catch every sort of disease, whereas the French being on their own soil are well nourished. News from Paris is good the last few days, and one can guess in spite of the little news of the war which

### *Casualty Lists—Death of Pius X*

papers give us here that the position of the French is much better. Thank God if this is the case ! It is very noticeable here that for a week there have been no further shouts of joy or hooliganism in the street. People have given up reading the papers and stop only to glance through the lists of killed and wounded. The general public are becoming more serious. They are beginning to feel that the losses are altogether too big and a desire for peace is beginning to make itself felt.

The death of Pius X and the election of Benedict XV have passed almost unperceived in the midst of the warlike activities of the present. Here at first people showed themselves displeased about the choice of Cardinal Della Chiesa as he was known to share Cardinal Rampolla's views. The letter in which the new Pope recommended the faithful not to pray specially for victory but solely for peace has produced quite a change. The Emperor was so delighted about it he has sent a telegram of gratitude to the Pope.

*Berlin, 15th September, 1914.*

We have had no news at all from France for some days now. There are, however, rumours that the situation of the German army has become quite dangerous and at one moment there was a risk of its being surrounded. . . . But the battle is still going on !

The Emperor personally desires peace. I know that he asked someone whom you know well what he thought of the possibility of a reconciliation between Germany and France. This would be a bridge of gold for him. On the question of peace two parties have sprung up. One consists of the great bankers who want peace as soon as possible. The other, the military party, who scream "treason" at the mere mention of the word, and keep on repeating the occu-

1914]

*Election of Benedict XV—Belgium*

pied territories must be annexed—are demanding thirty milliards and would forbid France to possess either an army or a navy.

I am sorry for the poor Emperor having to take decisions in this labyrinth of ridiculous ideas. I wish he would return here, as he isn't commanding the army, because then he wouldn't be so completely under the influence of the military party and would be able to hear other voices.

In East Prussia they announce victories near Königsberg and from another quarter serious defeats of the Austrians.

I forgot to tell you that the population of Belgium is in such a state of mind that the Germans have been obliged to leave four army corps to look after the country, without counting the seventy thousand men for the siege of Antwerp. This considerably reduces the German forces in France, especially if one counts the army corps which have been sent to the help of the Austrians in Galicia.

*Berlin, 21st September, 1914.*

To-day the papers are carefully refraining from admitting that there has been a defeat in France. One can read it between the lines though, because the Germans are retreating while the French are advancing. The Germans have been obliged to despatch yet another corps to Austria, and this makes five.

*Berlin, 9th October, 1914.*

People here are beginning to feel rather discouraged because things have not taken the turn they thought they would and many doubts are now assailing people's minds. Belgium is occupying a hundred and twenty thousand men and all that campaign against a neutral country will have to be paid for by Germany one day. To-day Antwerp is said to be in flames, and the end of that country is announced. What will become of the King? What is happening to the mon-

### *Massacre—Austrian Defeats*

archical principle : And isn't it the duty of all Sovereigns to defend one another, especially when the adversary one is crushing has only sought to maintain a neutrality guaranteed by the Great Powers and by the attacking Power in particular ?

A real desire for peace is making itself felt more and more. The losses are too great and people can't stand it any longer in spite of the heroism of the women and mothers who are maintaining a sorrowful silence. The men are saying, "This is massacre, it's no longer war. Things can't go on like this." In high quarters they have grasped that wanting to go too fast they've gone too far, and for some days now the generals have been sparing their troops rather more.

They calculate that on an average ten thousand men are put out of action daily. From the 9th September to the 1st October two hundred thousand men have been killed and wounded without counting those who have been maimed for life.

They are very disillusioned by the Austrian defeats and her army on which they had counted so much, and they hadn't at all expected any great resistance on the part of the Belgians and the French. The latter in particular are disconcerting the Germans who did not believe in their morale or in their military skill. Now the German papers are saying, "France is the only enemy worthy of us." The military party were convinced the war would be over in a few months, that they would be in Paris within three weeks after having conquered the country with the speed of lightning and almost without fighting. Lerchenfeld, a Chauvinist of the deepest dye, told me yesterday evening at my house that he had been obliged to go to General Headquarters at Coblenz at the end of August, and that they thought then that it was practically all over. They have had to alter their opinion

and now people are saying that Joffre has shown himself to be a remarkable tactician and that he knew how to take up excellent positions.

The Emperor has become extremely nervy, and daily he gets more excited. They have had to double his personal guard and his circle are very alarmed because they are afraid that he will want to meddle in the conduct of the war. He can't sleep or eat, and he has enormously aged. It is plain that things aren't going as he had been promised, and he is extremely anxious about it all.

The Chief of the General Staff has fallen ill as a result of overwork and must rest. The present War Minister General Falkenhayn is replacing him. And what's more the poor Emperor has also been having frightful scenes with his eldest son. Father and son can't bear the sight of each other any longer. General Hindenburg and his Russian victories is the hero about whom people are talking most, although the Russians are often retracing their footsteps in his direction. Last week he had to go to Breslau where he had a conference with the four leading Austrian generals to whom he gave the most categorical orders. People here are expecting a lot from this, but I hear that the Austrian generals simply saluted without one word of acquiescence. They say here that the Austrian soldier fights well, but that he is very badly led.

Imagine ! It is only the last day or so that we have heard about the battle of the Marne, and that it was such a success for the French who have forced the Germans to retreat a hundred and twenty-five kilometres. You see where we are with all this mystery with which everything is enveloped. The field post is working very badly, and the army are very hungry. Relatives send provisions which arrive very late or not at all. Bread in particular is scarcely distributed. The infantry which possesses a field kitchen can at least have hot

*Delbrück on Peace—Asquith at Edinburgh*

soup but the cavalry has to put up with tinned preserves, and the horses don't have fodder every day.

Here they are very suspicious. One can't utter a word of French in the street without being arrested as a spy. A couple of days ago your Ambassador was arrested in the street in the evening. He showed a visiting card, but this didn't suffice, and discussions went on for a long time. The police were being followed by two men in plain clothes whom the Ambassador had already noticed. Seeing things becoming warm they came up, excused themselves and requested him to accompany them to the Italian Embassy to find out whether he really was the Ambassador !

Professor Delbrück has written a pamphlet on the subject of peace, wherein he says that if Germany is victorious she should not this time seize any territory, either French or Belgian, that everything has gone to demonstrate the mistake of a pretentious desire for aggrandisement, and that a cash indemnity should be the sole demand.

This shows great wisdom but the military party will never listen. In this way that party inveigles the world deeper and deeper into war. This is also one of the reasons which makes me hope that France will be victorious because if not, German arrogance will know no limit and Europe will become impossible to live in.

I expect you will have read Asquith's speech of a fortnight ago at Edinburgh. He shows so clearly that up to the present Germany has gained nothing by the war—on the contrary she has lost a great deal in reputation by her violation of Belgian neutrality. And what confidence can one place in her now ?

Here they are laughing at the Indian troops who are being disembarked at Marseilles. Nevertheless it is said that these Indians won't suffer from the climate because they have been chosen from tribes inhabiting regions near the Himalayas

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*The Germans Retreat—Joffre*

where the climate is very cold, and which will enable them to bear that of Europe.

They say the Portuguese are also about to declare war on us. It would appear that the Russians didn't disappear in the marshes after the battle of Tannenberg. This was an invention of the papers to give us encouragement. But what isn't, is that after the battle of the Marne the Germans with fury in their hearts bombarded the cathedral of Rheims. . . . What an abomination, my God ! I am dumbfounded !

*Berlin, 22nd-26th October, 1914.*

They are fighting furiously along the whole Belgian coast, and certainly something serious is about to take place. General Moltke, who is still unwell, is obliged to take care of himself. They report that he is quite gaga as a result of the responsibilities of command. He has been definitely replaced by the Minister for War.

The Germans say the enemy is better fed than they, and that they are fighting most valiantly, also the blacks. They say that their airmen are excellent, and their planes lighter and easier to manage than ours.

Joffre must be a man of tremendous courage. He has been keeping the German army at bay for two months now. This cannot be denied, and people here are beginning to be very worried about it. Particularly the Emperor.

Interesting stories are being told about Joffre. He is said to have had quite another plan of campaign to which Messimy, the War Minister, wouldn't consent, but was obliged to go into Alsace. When Joffre saw the great mass of German troops he made that magnificent retreat which completely deceived the Germans, and when he had reached the Marne and taken up his position he launched his offensive, and in a week he had forced the German army back a hundred and



### *Heavy Losses—Battle of the Aisne*

twenty-five kilometres. The latter had moments of the greatest anxiety, and saw themselves in great danger.

Since Millerand has replaced Messimy at the War Ministry things are going better, because he understands more about military affairs, but this doesn't prevent the Republic insisting upon the French Generalissimo referring everything back to the Government. More than one person sees the possible danger of a military dictatorship owing to the confidence which Joffre has been able to inspire in the army, and his successes, and it is this which is frightening the Government. I don't believe he aspires to that. Joffre is sixty-two, and he seems far too wise to me to want anything of the sort. But it must all be very tiresome for him, because in his position he needs the greatest possible independence.

The "42" guns don't seem sufficient, and they are busy on others of "62." They are manufacturing six of this size. They want to try them on Verdun. People are saying that the Germans are simply determined to take Calais so as to be able to bombard Dover with their big guns !

Nothing can give you an idea of our losses. Yesterday I heard of a family who had lost five sons on the battle-field, and they are being so driven that the number of sick is also considerable. Prince Oscar, who commands an infantry regiment, has been hit and several other people of my acquaintance are in the same boat.

Silence reigns more and more about the battle of the Aisne, which must be lost. The only thing one has is a great big map in Unter den Linden on which little flags show the positions occupied by the two armies. One can see that Germany has gone back. This silent demonstration however cries out very loud. . . .

I am assured that France has lent four milliards to Russia and other Powers. Will she ever get them back ? !

1914]

*A Temporary Armistice Refused*

Hindenburg wants to take Warsaw, and the Austrian army has been put under his orders. The Germans combined with the Austrians have fourteen army corps, the Russians twenty-one. The losses are appalling. Of the first regiment of Foot Guards there remain but one captain and seven men, of the Queen Augusta absolutely nothing. Every single person is in mourning. A father had lost three sons. He wrote to the Emperor to ask that his fourth and last remaining son should be sent to a less dangerous post. The Emperor gave the order, but when this arrived this fourth son had just been killed like the others !

It was a kindly gesture on the Emperor's part to accede to the request of the Cardinal of Cologne that French priests taken prisoner serving in the ranks should be treated as officers. Besides, the priests do the greatest good to their countrymen. The other day in a camp of more than three hundred prisoners they held Communion. The Emperor has also decorated on the battle-field a Catholic Sister who was formerly at our hospital. She is the daughter of a doctor in Cologne. In similar circumstances he decorated a Franciscan Friar which created an excellent effect on the Catholics. But all Catholic military chaplains are the admiration of the whole world, being always in the ranks to hear confessions and give absolution to those who ask, and blessing regiments about to go into fire.

Last night a despatch from General Headquarters said that the Germans had offered the French an armistice to bury their dead, and that they had refused. This despatch is official and gives food for thought.

*Berlin, 3rd-11th November, 1914.*

The Spanish Ambassador went to visit a French prison camp at Zessen, which is an hour and a half from here, the

### *A French Prisoners' Camp—Hatred of England*

other day. They have put up huts and the Ambassador found eleven thousand prisoners there quite comfortably installed, in the depths of the country. There are eleven priests with them. They have established a chapel in the middle of the camp in a tent. Each day they say Mass in turn, and every day there is catechism and every evening a recitation of the Rosary. The soldiers follow very attentively. Amongst the prisoners there are also teachers who give lessons every day to the soldiers who thereby employ their time usefully. The German Government told the Ambassador that up to the present there had not been a single case of insubordination. Only the blacks are more difficult because they steal from each other. They give the prisoners quite decent bread to eat but only one meal a day, which is scarcely enough for their sustenance.

The English prisoners have their camp near Potsdam, and it seems they are less well treated than the French. You cannot imagine the hatred which reigns here against the English. This hatred increases each day in intensity, and yet it would seem as though the pitch couldn't rise any higher than it is at the moment. There is less hatred for the Russians than there was when I arrived in Berlin, which makes me think the tone will also soften *vis-à-vis* England. What is at least original is the good they are saying about the French, against whom the Germans profess to have no enmity at all.

People are grumbling all the time very much about the Austrian generals. Their vagueness upsets Hindenburg's movements and makes him miss his objective every time. I think they are very annoyed at being commanded by a Prussian general. The English soldiers, they say, are wonderful shots.

You will have read in the papers about Briand's journey with another minister to Nancy and Lunéville. In his report

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*Warsaw Bombed—Horrors of War*

to the Government he wrote that it had been a terrible sight, but that it had had its consoling aspect. Although the ruined country is dreadful to see and brings tears to the eyes, such is the energy of the French nation that they are already busy rebuilding their houses. It is the same in the Champagne country near Rheims, where they have been gathering grapes !

The Germans are making use of their aircraft to hurl bombs on enemy towns and kill innocent people who have nothing to do with the war. The one they sent to Warsaw killed a hundred and six people in the streets and spread terror. This is not a good method of attracting the Poles, which they wanted so much to do.

They say General de Castelnau is commanding the army of the centre and he has fortified Verdun so well no-one on the French side has any fears for that place. They say also it is General Pau who is organising new dispositions and that he is doing it admirably. It is fortunate for France she has such good generals. One can't say the same here. General Moltke's illness was only a mask. He was simply dismissed because he didn't satisfy our high circles. As they don't want the public upset they have invented his illness.

*Berlin, 5th November, 1914.*

The list of killed and wounded this morning is so frightful we are all overwhelmed. I should never have thought such a thing possible and when one considers that we aren't told half the names !

The other day the Emperor was visiting one of the hospitals where he observed a wounded soldier who had had an eye shot out and had had to have his other eye removed also. The Emperor approached him and asked if there was anything he could do for him. The soldier replied : "Give me a

### *The Emperor's Threefold Refusal to Sign*

revolver so that I can finish myself off." It appeared that this answer was like a thunderbolt to the Emperor. I have also been told that our Sovereign simply could not bring himself to sign the declaration of war. Three times he sent Bethmann away with the paper, saying always "NO !" The military party insisted, pointing out the loss of time for mobilisation owing to the delay in obtaining his signature. Thus they almost had to force the decision out of him.

I want to copy you some passages of a letter from my daughter in Vienna, written on October 25th :

"My second son got back here from Lançut this morning, and he paints a sorry picture. From Rzesow the country is laid waste, covered with the bodies of dead horses and the débris of cannons and carts, and there are stragglers and wounded along the roads everywhere. At Lançut in the castle moat there are sixty-five dead horses and also several corpses of Cossacks who were killed and hastily buried where they fell. The gardens and park are a mass of filth and ruins. Railway coaches and kitchens right up to the doors of the house. This is crammed full of soldiers because after the Russians had departed the Archduke Peter arrived with his army corps. The Archduke surrounded by his staff was astounded to find the castle still standing and haughtily showed his displeasure by finding the place suspect, and asking how much Count Potocki had paid the Russians for not burning his castle down !

They peeped about up all the chimneys, in the stoves, the central heating apparatus, etc., to see whether there might not be a hidden telephone. They climbed up into the towers to look for signals. They were perfectly odious to my son who wasn't even able to talk to our servants for fear of a plot. One is no longer one's own master in that part of the world, and under those conditions one can't dream of setting foot

there. It does not suffice that wretched Galicia should bear the brunt of the war, that everyone is ruined and everything laid waste, but the Poles must also be the whipping boys and be accused of treason. It is a fixed idea with our Austrian military people. They mistrust the Poles and everything which isn't purely German."

Here is a letter from my grandson who has been on three weeks' leave recovering from dysentery and bronchitis :

Vienna, 25th October . . . "I have to rejoin my regiment, which is in Poland near Radom. I return without either joy or enthusiasm in view of the intense hatred of the Austrians for the Poles. They look upon Poland and Galicia as responsible for the Austrian defeat. We really are in a pitiable situation. Germany makes us promises, Austria threatens us, and both do more damage and trouble than the Russians with their Cossacks. The position of the Austrian army is becoming more and more difficult every day. It is on the defensive on the San line, which the Russians have crossed at several places, and I think it more than likely that Lançut will soon again be in their hands. It seems that the Prussian advance against Warsaw isn't very easy. There are fifteen Russian army corps against five German. I admire France which is fighting with so much courage. What a splendid King of the Belgians, a man of honour and will !"

*Berlin, 7th November, 1914.*

The Radolins have already seen a troop of Russian cavalry and Kleinitz isn't very far away. They have been obliged to remove another army corps suddenly from France and transport it in all haste to the Kingdom of Poland.

At the outbreak of the war the Germans wanted to make some friends in America, so they sent Count Sierstorpff to

### *A Mission to the United States*

Washington and Hatzfeldt to Buenos Ayres. They have both got back and say it was merely time wasted ; they had been able to do nothing, hatred of the Germans was such they had been refused admittance to clubs and society. They returned furious from their unsuccessful mission. It was an absolute fiasco. The violation of Belgian neutrality was the reason.

General Klück, the General who rushed his troops to Paris so quickly, is no longer in favour. He will be dismissed one of these days. The Emperor has given orders that no volunteers under the age of twenty-one are to be accepted, and children of seventeen are not to be sent to the front.

To-day we hear that the German colony in China has been seized by the Japanese, who have got hold of a lot of material and taken the numerous German garrison prisoner. Berlin has a sombre appearance to-day. Faces are long and there is no room for smiles.

*Berlin, 11th November, 1914.*

I wish you were mistaken in your views about the probable duration of the war. I think your distance from the events which we are enduring makes you unable to realise the need for putting an end to all this carnage. Here they've muzzled the Press and people's mouths so successfully that complaints are not as yet being heard outside. They're very real none-the-less and things are certainly not going as well at General Headquarters as they might wish. Moltke put aside ; Falkenhayn appears to have done no better, and for the last two days people have been saying that the Emperor himself has now taken command !!

*Berlin, 25th November, 1914.*

My daughter has arrived and what she tells me about Vienna isn't edifying. They are convinced of final victory,

and without giving a thought to all the blood which is flowing with such abundance or to their defeats they are dancing and amusing themselves; the theatres are full. This frivolity of character makes the greatest contrast to the events in the midst of which we are living in this tragic age.

The Emperor Francis Joseph is occupying himself with nothing, sees scarcely anyone and it is His Majesty's doctor and Prince Montenuovo who have taken charge of everything. Berchtold turns up, submits affairs to these two gentlemen. "Can one show this to the Emperor?" he enquires. Both gentlemen having examined the matter reply "Yes" or "No," and this is how things are going on. The poor old thing signed the ultimatum to Servia without knowing what he was doing. It was Prince Hohenlohe, now Austrian Ambassador here, and Burian the Hungarian Minister who got him to sign it. They have played a fine trick on us. It is said no-one here suspected this, not even the Emperor William. The latter is surrounded by another kind of danger which is also very much to be regretted. That is the preponderance of the military party, who are dominating him with all their might. At present the latter are simply furious, having seen all their plans come to naught so far. Instead of taking Paris and lunching at the Ritz on the anniversary of Sedan, they have been forced back from the Marne and soon will be probably from the Aisne !

On the Polish front they win a battle, then lose one, zig-zagging without ever bringing about a decisive success. All this must be putting that party into a very unhappy frame of mind, but as they won't admit it, nor ask for an armistice, they are saying that France and England are at an end of their resources and that it is the latter who are in dire need of peace. This isn't at all the case. Neither France, England nor Russia wishes to give up the game at present. Thus



### *Plans for Belgium and the Trentino*

General Headquarters have summoned Count Tisza to discuss means of satisfying their desire for peace without making the smallest concessions. I don't know what has been decided, but someone from the Wilhelmstrasse told me last night that they are about to cut unhappy Belgium up into four or five bits. The Military Party would like to have the whole of it for Germany, but they don't hold the same views at the Wilhelmstrasse. The latter would prefer to hand over a bit to Luxemburg, another piece to Holland, another to France and keep the rest for themselves. The question of the Trentino was also debated with Tisza in the hope of luring you into this Alliance. They would like to give Trentino to the Pope and for it to be passed on to Italy through his mediation. This would be a singular way round !

I am convinced that we are now going to have a terrific struggle between the Military Party and the civilians. The Emperor will have a great deal to endure personally. They have scarcely begun to realise the desire of this party to interfere in everything, and as people aren't at all satisfied at the way in which the war is being carried on, discontent, which is still being restrained, will soon flare up. The Socialist Party will make itself heard and you will see that this great and tragic adventure will end in a colossal revolution.

When Tisza came I'm told there were complaints about the Austrian generals. Only one general, Dankl, seems to be worth anything, but he doesn't wish to place himself under Hindenburg's orders and they say he's going to resign. General Auffenburg has had several peasants hanged supposedly for treason. And what can those poor people do ? The Russians point a loaded gun at their chests and say, "If you don't show us the way you will be shot." On the whole the Russians aren't bad. They are doing what they can to

gain the sympathy of the Poles, and don't pillage like the Austrians and the Germans. They demanded a war contribution the day they entered the town of Lemberg, but they returned it the next. They didn't take anything from the peasants, not even a cow, but they helped them to till their land and sow their fields, paying for what they were obliged to have. Also in Galicia the inhabitants are saying out loud that they don't want to belong to Austria, which treats them so badly, but that they would much prefer Russia. As this Power has declared she would like to recreate a real Polish Kingdom, you will see that the Poles will try and reorganise themselves under the Russian and not the German sceptre. They detest the Germans more than ever.

The Emperor is reported to have consented at last to send Prince Bülow to you as Ambassador, which is what the Prince has been wanting.

*Berlin, 5th-10th December, 1914.*

The Emperor is here and it is not known when he will return to General Headquarters. He sees no-one and not even the Mistress of the Robes, Countess Brockdorf, has been summoned to Bellevue where Their Majesties are in residence. It is difficult to know whether he is satisfied with his troops in Prussia and Poland, but I do know a rendezvous took place at Breslau with the three Austrian Archdukes who are colonels and the Chief of the Austrian General Staff, which wasn't exactly sweet. These gentlemen absolutely refuse to obey Hindenburg and a Field-Marshal's Bâton was only given to the latter to put the Archduke Frederick under his orders. In any case the Emperor has made an enormous distribution of decorations which takes away from their value. As our generals aren't particularly distinguishing themselves Hindenburg is the star of the

### *Incompetence—Bülow Appointed*

moment. Up till now he has only been pawing the ground like the others in spite of his victories. The other day the Russians managed to surround two German army corps and would have taken them prisoner if Rennenkampf had arrived in time. His delay allowed the Germans to escape. The Emperor is still very worried and all the more as they are asking him not to occupy himself with operations. He assists at war councils, but he doesn't command, and by giving his opinion he divides General Headquarters, so one may say that the direction of affairs is collective.

The other day someone was complaining about the incompetence of our generals, and he was answered: "Make Joffre a prisoner then, and you would have someone who doesn't seem at all bad!" The Germans at any rate this time have the good taste not to depreciate their enemy.

The wise men are saying that it is you who hold the balance and whose sword will decide the issue.

I expect you have read the Chancellor's speech in Parliament. His language seems to me extraordinary. It is almost a copy of his speech of the 4th August. He declared then that the violation of Belgian neutrality was a necessity, and now he says it is a matter of right and consequently justice. The language is odd for an honest man. And everybody here believes it too. There was of course never any excuse for violating a treaty and not keeping one's word, "Qui s'excuse s'accuse," and Germany who is always trying to excuse herself is being particularly stupid.

Yesterday I saw Prince Bülow who is off to Rome. I am very glad for his sake about his new occupation, because this indicates a reconciliation with the Emperor, which is opportune. He is certainly the best German diplomat and as he is very shrewd he can be a good friend or a dangerous opponent. Bülow, who deplores the war and our policy

1914]      *Ambassador to Rome—Arthur Nicolson*

at the present time, told me that it all happened as a result of unparalleled mismanagement.

*Berlin, 10th December, 1914.*

Hindenburg is more and more admired. His name is being given to streets, squares, shoes, dresses, baskets of flowers, furniture, in fact to everything one can think of, and it is becoming grotesque. How it must be getting on the Emperor's nerves! What brought about the Emperor's displeasure with Hindenburg and the latter's departure from the army two years ago was that he made the Emperor prisoner in the big Autumn manœuvres!

*Berlin, 24th December, 1914.*

I am now reading the Yellow Book, which gives the telegrams exchanged between the various governments, including those of the Russian and German Emperors. The conduct of these two Sovereigns is perfectly clear, and no-one can doubt after reading these telegrams that it was here that they wanted war. There need be no hesitation about whose responsibility it was.

The Germans are furious about the despatch of a British Ambassador to the Vatican. I think this is very clever of the English. I see Nicolson<sup>1</sup> behind this move. He is an extremely clever man and a great friend of my son-in-law Joseph who has often spoken to me about him. And I find the Pope is giving an excellent example of Christian conduct by his orders to Bishops and priests to succour victims of the war. I expect a great deal from Benedict XV.

I am entirely alone for Christmas, without a friend, without a child, and even without the possibility of having an exchange of thoughts with them.

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently Lord Carnock.

*Berlin, 5th January, 1915.*

I don't know what's happening at the moment at General Headquarters, but they talk as though the Emperor wanted to reinstate Moltke, finding that Falkenhayn has done even worse. This all increases the deplorable misunderstanding which exists in the High Command, and is probably hindering operations. When people speak of the Emperor they all say, "If only he won't meddle, because he will upset everything." An attitude which seems to me deplorable for his sake. In fact everything seems to be going just the opposite from what they thought, and not a few people are disillusioned. I don't know whether Falkenhayn will go on boring the Chancellor. People are saying the former considers himself strong enough to replace him! You will have read in the papers that the Chancellor's eldest son has been killed. The poor man really is unlucky. His wife died last May and now his son gone. He was seriously wounded and taken prisoner by the Russians, and died in a camp.

Pourtalés (recently German Ambassador at St. Petersburg) came to see me with his wife. I found him extremely irritated with Russia. As you have read the Yellow Book you must have read some telegrams which you will have found rather difficult to make out. Pourtalés, who saw Poincaré in St. Petersburg, has a very small opinion of him. He says that he's only a climber. This may be so, but he is a person of great learning who seems to me nevertheless to be managing France's affairs very well. Here they are grumbling more and more about the Austrians. People say there are only three army corps which are of any use.

1915]

*Benedict XV—Spy Scares*

The Pope's letters fill me with admiration. What a profoundly Christian and good spirit Benedict XV possesses, and how broadminded ! What a happy choice on the part of the Church to raise him to the Papal Throne ! Hasn't he sent a splendid letter to all the Priests of Christendom telling them to look after the unhappy prisoners ? And what an exchange of telegrams between His Holiness and the Sovereigns of all countries for the repatriation of prisoners of war ! We have something to be proud of having a Pope like that.

They say that England wanted to have an Ambassador at the Vatican, so as to counteract German influence. . . . I shouldn't be surprised.

*Berlin, 21st January, 1915.*

We have to be more careful than ever here because the oddest things have been going on the last few weeks. Princess Pless (English by birth) was suspected of spying and was quite simply requested to leave the country. In her distress she has sought refuge at Meran. Princess Münster, also under suspicion, has been interned at Hanover. She is living in her castle close by, where she isn't even allowed to breathe the air in her own garden. And finally Princess Radolin has been relieved of her position of Lady-in-waiting and shut up in a house at Breslau with two soldiers on guard to keep out anyone who might want to see her. The reason for these three arrests and for many others as well is that these ladies were considered not sufficiently German in their ideas and feelings. Doesn't this remind one of Napoleon and Madame de Staël ?

As a result of a military decree Jean Radolin's correspondence with one of her cousins had been opened at the General Headquarters at Posen for some weeks, and it was after this that Jean was arrested. You will be rather astonished I'm

### *A Prisoners' Camp—Economies*

thinking by these new customs which have now established themselves at Berlin.

The Spanish Ambassador, who has just been the round of French and Russian prisoners, has got back from Saxony where he found thirteen thousand in the camp at Königstein near Dresden, and he is quite satisfied. The Saxon General in charge received the Ambassador, and told him that hitherto he had always believed all Frenchmen were atheists, and he was very surprised to find the army contained such a large number of soldiers and officers who are religious, that it was certainly the French who were the more fervent. The Ambassador can't get over the work which the French prisoners are doing, and their ingenuity. There are people of every sort in the camp, painters, sculptors, etc. The latter have bought some marble and a large space in a cemetery. They have sculptured a remarkably fine screen surrounding this bit where their dead comrades are buried. Each one has his cross and inscription. Among the prisoners at Königstein there is a steel master from Nantes who must be very rich, because he has given a lot of money to help the soldiers and make things easier for them. The first tenor of the Paris Opera, also a prisoner, has a marvellous voice. They have got up an orchestra to accompany him. The whole of Dresden goes off to the camp to hear him sing.

All would be well if only they gave these unhappy creatures enough food, whereas it is not only detestable but insufficient. In Bavaria the prisoners are less well off than in Saxony, and the officers are very badly treated.

Here they are beginning to fear that soon there won't be enough food for us. Economies are being made with bread. What we are getting is made with potatoes and is detestable. There is no more petrol for motors, nor rubber for the wheels, and one no longer sees either motors or carriages in

1915] *Archduke Charles—Berchtold Goes*

the streets, because all the horses have been taken. In the country the Government have seized all the corn and we daren't sell it to anyone. It's becoming very serious, and I know our Government are very worried in this connection.

The Austrian Heir-Apparent, the Archduke Charles, was here to-night and has already left for General Headquarters. It is also reported that Witte has arrived from St. Petersburg for negotiations. I don't believe this. It's too early yet.

*Berlin, 2nd February, 1915.*

I am enclosing herewith copies of two letters from Vienna. Writing has become a great effort for me these last days.

Vienna. 15th January, 1915. "The earthquake will perhaps hinder Italy in her impatience to get into Austria, and all the news coming from there says that the Italians are not to be held back. Here Berchtold has resigned and everyone knows the reason. For some days there have been long discussions with Tisza and Prince Wedel, who is here in secret. But it is thought only on military questions. Burian has been appointed in Berchtold's place. He was the Hungarian Minister and has served in consulates and was for a short time in diplomacy. He is said to be a great connoisseur of Balkan questions, a great politician, a wild Hungarian, a creature of Tisza's, fearless, intelligent, and energetic, but devoid of wide experience. He is reputed to have been the author of the ultimatum to Servia, and if he wants to carry on that sort of policy I fear he will only precipitate a catastrophe these days. Bismarck's mailed fist which they are mad about here doesn't fit Austria I'm afraid. Nothing fresh from the theatre of war. They are still merely stamping their feet. They flatter themselves that the Russians have no more ammunition, that they are cut to pieces and can't carry on, just because for the last few days the Russians have been



*The Trentino—A Letter from Cambon*

keeping quiet. They forget it was their Christmas and New Year which the latter always keep. People are discussing a certain nervousness which is manifesting itself these days on account of the commercial war and the English blockade. They would like to provoke discontent among the neutral countries, particularly in America. But people say this won't come to anything because the latter has never done such good business and her understanding with Great Britain is perfect."

From my eldest daughter as follows :

Vienna, 29th January, 1915. "Wedel has been here about Italy and the Trentino question. Germany would like to cede this to Italy, but the Emperor flatly refuses and Berchtold who was leaning towards a concession has had to depart. Italy is trying a bit of blackmail they say, and that she won't be content with so little but will then want Trieste and Gorizia ; as for me I believe Italy's and Rumania's intervention would be our sole hope, and that so long as the neutral Powers keep out we shan't ever have peace. Everyone wants it, but nobody will take the first step. Neither side feels strong enough to extricate themselves honourably from this horrible impasse.

"Here people have only one idea. To get back Galicia. But as they loathe the Poles I can't see how this would help matters."

I also add part of a letter from Monsieur Jules Cambon, which reached me recently.

Paris, 26th January, 1915. ". . . Here people are rather agitated. The French don't possess the disciplined temperament of the Germans, but this fact doesn't really alter things fundamentally. People are determined to go to the bitter end, and are convinced that all difficulties will be overcome. Never has so big a war been begun so frivolously. Those

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*The Emperor William's Remorse*

responsible will have to answer to history and to their own country for the weight of all the catastrophes which they have allowed to accumulate. I have no idea what the future has in store. I dream sometimes of the policy of Balance of Power which Prince Talleyrand extolled, and I find nowadays as in his time those who would like to deviate are foolish and blind if not criminal. But there are laws governing politics as in everything else which obtrude on all the world."

*Berlin, 24th February, 1915.*

Since yesterday a feeling of great uncertainty has spread itself abroad. It seems that nothing can be got out of Vienna. The Chancellor has returned empty-handed. Francis Joseph won't hear of the Trentino being handed over to you, and it appears that an anti-German party is being formed in Austria. At the moment they are thinking of making a last effort through Frau von Schratt (the fairy of the Emperor Franz Joseph's thoughts) and the day before yesterday Prince Wedel was sent off for this. It is thought if Frau von Schratt herself can be persuaded she will then also persuade her great friend. If it comes off all will be well, but if it doesn't I assume you will mobilise . . . and then !

I hear on all sides that the Emperor William is looking more and more unwell, that he's tormented with remorse and suffering dreadfully from the position in which the war has put him. A few days ago he went off to the celebrated Convent of Czanstorbowa in Poland on the Silesian Prussian border. He heard Mass and gave ten thousand marks to this place, which is so venerated throughout the whole country. Two days later the first victory against the Russians took place. Then he ordered a day of prayer in all churches and wrote in his own hand to the Archbishop of Cologne asking that the same should be done in Roman Catholic

### *Negotiations About the Trentino*

churches. And last Sunday the *Te Deum* was chanted in our churches, and the next day saw the second victory over the Russians. The Emperor with his impressionable nature feels that it is all a miracle.

*Berlin, 6th March, 1915.*

The Ambassadors and Ministers accredited here have received a circular from the *Wilhelmstrasse* demanding them in peremptory tones not to allow any private letters to go by their messengers. Imagine ! They went to the American Embassy, opened all the bags, cut the tapes and seized all the private letters they found. . . .

*Berlin, 14th March, 1915.*

I'm told that diplomatic conversations are going on in connection with the Trentino. The difficulties come from Austria. As Frau Schrott absolutely refuses to persuade the Emperor Francis Joseph of the necessity to do so, someone from here whom you know very well has been employed to approach the Vatican, so that if the Trentino is being discussed at the moment this is due to the Pope's influence with the Emperor Francis Joseph. It is all very curious. . . .

*Berlin, 23rd March, 1915.*

For the last ten days there has hardly been a thing in the streets, motors are invisible, 'buses I still see though seldom and they are driven by women. In spite of all the millions obtained from the nation we are in a frightful mess. They would like to conceal the facts from the masses who are getting very discontented. Every week our ration of a few ounces of bread is being diminished, so that in a short while we shall have come to an end of what little the Government deigns to give us now.

I don't know how negotiations between Rome and Vienna are going. One says that Bülow is very discouraged and losing confidence. Here is a letter from my daughter in Vienna dated the 14th. "There has been a Crown Council here at which they forced the hand of the old Emperor, and a Note has been sent to Italy offering the Trentino after the war, and demanding in return immediate demobilisation and payment of a milliard. It was Tisza who, convinced that if Italy went to war Rumania would do the same and would occupy Transylvania, moved hand and foot to force the Emperor's decision. The Austrians want Germany also to give something. It is all very complicated, because Germany would be allowed to keep Belgium. They are awaiting Italy's reply which will certainly be negative as the Trentino will be considered much too little. It seems to me it will be far more difficult to make peace than war."

It is your sword alone which can settle all these matters. If you come in it seems to me that we ought to have peace sooner and we certainly have great need of it.

*Berlin, 3rd April, 1915.*

I hear that for a month now the Emperor has been assiduously engaged in secret correspondence with His Holiness and that the latter has also been secretly in touch with your Government. I don't know who your intermediaries can be. Here it is the Deputy Erzberger who goes over the head of the Ambassador and who travels under a false name in order to carry out his mission from Headquarters.

Yesterday we had the centenary of Bismarck. It was celebrated at the foot of his statue with beautiful flowers, speeches and sunny skies. The crowd was enormous and was a demonstration of the popularity of a great man who none the less committed many faults.

### *Przemysl Falls—Galician Horrors*

I enclose a letter from my eldest daughter dated Vienna, the 28th March. "Pray God that the Pope will have sufficient influence to get the world out of this Hell. I ask myself how he manages to discuss matters with the Quirinal and the Italian Government. I suppose there is some method, but I don't know what it is. I see there is great desire for peace in Berlin. Here people soon got over the fall of Przemysl and are saying that this will have had no effect on the march of events as the fortress was of no importance and that it was only defended with old guns ! This avowal is very naïve. . . . They are not hesitating to write in the papers that Maria Thérèse was far-sighted in annexing Galicia because now this province is being more than useful in serving as a battlefield for the defence of the Austrian and Hungarian frontiers. This is its sole advantage they say, and the only reason why they would like to have it back.

"You can well understand how frightfully this point of view annoys the Poles, and all the more as those who are here having been obliged to flee are looked upon askance and as so many more mouths to feed. Even more unfortunate are those who have been forcibly evacuated by the military authorities and put into camps in Bohemia, Styria and Upper Austria. There are compounds of twenty and thirty thousand people concentrated in horrible barracks and empty houses. They get scarcely anything to eat and are living like animals one on top of another. Of course epidemics have broken out and now they are dying like flies, especially the children. A priest from one of these camps has written that the fate of those condemned to Siberia is envious in comparison with what these wretched people are suffering.

"The Emperor is informed about nothing, they only give him the military news. They say he cries a great deal and that he is sleeping badly. It is the cession of the Trentino

1915]                      *The Emperor William's Tears*

which torments him more than anything. He has already lost too many provinces during his lifetime.

"Bollati doesn't go out any more and is in a worse temper every day. He has told someone that nothing will be settled—still less the Trentino!"

*Berlin, 22nd April, 1915.*

We know nothing and everyone is constantly repeating that the negotiations are interminable. The Emperor prays for hours together. He is found in tears in corners of churches all over the Rhine. He is certainly much to be pitied.

*Berlin, 8th May, 1915.*

There have been all sorts of happenings under your sun these last days. But it will all come to an end. If only we could obtain peace somehow or other. I fear that we are a long way off because the Governments do not feel as we do our dire need of it. They dream only of triumphs they can no longer attain.

*Telegramme.*

*Beaurivage Ouchy, 13th July, 1915.*

"My adored mother has passed peacefully away Kleinitz."

BETKA POTOCKA.

THE END



## EDITOR'S NOTES

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- A. GERMANY
- B. THE MOROCCO PROBLEM
- C. THE EASTERN QUESTION
- D. FINAL NOTE





## A. GERMANY

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### 1. *THE POLISH PROBLEM*

EVER since their incorporation within Prussia after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the Polish Provinces have presented a problem to the Government whose aim it was to combat Polonism by Germanism. With this object in view the Prussian Government encouraged the settlement of Germans in Posen and West Prussia. In 1872 the German language was made the medium of instruction in the schools. In 1886 the Prussian Government established a Land Commission for the purchase of land belonging to Poles and the settlement of German colonists in their stead. A large sum was voted for this purpose and in 1898 a further sum was added. With the policy of land settlement cultural measures were made more repressive. In 1900 there was a scandal because children were beaten for refusing to repeat the Lord's Prayer in German. In 1902 the Government decided to pursue their Polish Policy with greater vigour and with this object founded a German University in Posen. In 1906, 100,000 schoolchildren went on strike, refusing to answer questions in German, and finally they refused to go to school at all. Parents were fined and sent to prison.

The policy of colonisation was not a success. It increased the value of land artificially and led to abuses. The landed gentry were enabled to sell their estates at inflated prices and buy more land cheaply. Polish land banks were established to buy back land sold to the Germans. The result was that the Poles acquired more land in the Settled Provinces than they had possessed before the Settlement Law had been

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passed. Polish workmen migrated to the German industrial towns and competed with German workmen.

In 1907 the Imperial Chancellor and Prussian Minister President, Prince Bülow, introduced in the Prussian Parliament a proposal for the compulsory expropriation of Polish land. This measure was designed to make the sale of land compulsory and at a fixed price when such was desired for a specific scheme of settlement. The Bill met with considerable opposition from the Poles, the Centre Party and also the Conservatives, who resented interference with land-owners' rights. This opposition necessitated considerable modifications. Forced sales were limited to a specified number of acres and to a period of two years. The Upper House also insisted that properties which had been in the same hands for an unbroken period of ten years should not be expropriated. The Bill in this modified form was passed by both Houses in 1909.

### 2. *THE EMPEROR'S LETTER AND "THE TIMES"*

ON March 6th, 1908, *The Times* published the fact that the Emperor William had addressed a letter in February to Lord Tweedmouth, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in which he suggested that it would be a good thing if the British Naval Programme were reduced, and he gave reasons why German naval expansion need cause no concern in Great Britain. This announcement in *The Times* created a great stir both in England and in Germany. In England it was believed that this was an attempt to influence British policy, and consequently it was very much resented as interference and an impertinence. In Germany, where its indiscretion was immediately recognised, it also caused uneasiness and led to questions in the German Parliament where the task of defending the Emperor's letter fell upon the Chancellor, Prince Bülow. The Emperor took the view that the letter had been a private communication to a personal friend. This was undoubtedly true, but as the friend in question happened to be the First Lord of the Admiralty and the contents of the

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letter concerned official matters, this view of the Emperor's met with little sympathy.

### 3. THE EULENBURG SCANDAL

PRINCE PHILIP ZU EULENBURG became involved in a painful scandal. The surrounding circumstances are exceedingly complicated, so much so that it is difficult even at the present time to understand the whole matter or its origins. The facts are briefly as follows. In 1906 a Jewish Publicist, Maximilien Harden—whose object in life seems to have been to expose or create scandals—began a Press campaign in a German newspaper, *Die Zukunft*, against certain members of the Emperor's entourage, including in particular Count Kuno Moltke, A.D.C., a relation of the General Count Helmuth Moltke, and Prince Philip Eulenburg. The latter, who had spent a useful life in the public service—he had served as Minister in Munich and Imperial Ambassador in Vienna and also as a liaison officer between the Emperor and the Wilhelmstrasse—was accused of being the chief conspirator in a Court Camarilla. As the Emperor had frequently been the Prince's guest at his castle at Liebenberg, allusions were made to the "Liebenberg Round Table." Further insinuations appeared and it was said that the Emperor was being corrupted by the spiritualistic and other practices of his friends. These libels which were becoming more and more scurrilous led Count Kuno Moltke to take action and he instituted civil proceedings. The case was heard in Berlin in October 1907, and Harden in this instance won his case. However, the case had been conducted in such an unsatisfactory manner that it was taken up again, this time by the Public Prosecutor. This second case was heard early in January 1908 in camera, and as a result the evidence against Moltke was utterly discredited and Maximilien Harden was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. Unfortunately for Prince Eulenburg, in the course of this trial at which he had appeared as a witness he was cross-examined by Harden's Counsel, Herr Bernstein. The latter went into the various

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insinuations and allegations which had been made against the Prince's character and he asked questions about his relationships with various people in the remote past. Prince Eulenburg refuted all suggestions of immorality and denied having transgressed the criminal code. Then on March 25th an obscure Munich newspaper, the *Neue Freie Volkszeitung*, published an article to the effect that Prince Eulenburg had paid Harden the sum of a million marks to keep quiet. Harden thereupon took proceedings against the Editor, Anton Städele, for libel. The case came before the Municipal Court at Munich on April 21st. For some reason which to this day remains quite obscure the judge permitted evidence to be heard against Eulenburg, who had nothing whatever to do with the case except indirectly and who was naturally not present. None the less a criminal with thirty-two previous convictions against him, called Riedl, was produced as a witness in Court. He stated that twenty-five years previously Prince Eulenburg had acted improperly with him, and another equally irrelevant witness, an ex-servant of the Eulenburgs, Jacob Ernst, said to have been deaf by this time, appears to have been intimidated by threats of imprisonment into an admittance of immoral conduct years before with the Prince, by whom he had first been employed as a young man to row about when fishing on the Lake of Starnberg. As a result of these extraordinary proceedings and this unsatisfactory and totally irrelevant evidence criminal proceedings were instituted in Berlin against Prince Eulenburg for having committed perjury in the Crown *v.* Harden case. After a great deal of further enquiries and scandal the proceedings were eventually dropped owing to a complete breakdown of Prince Eulenburg's health.

The originator of the whole affair would appear to have been the Foreign Office official Holstein<sup>1</sup> who wished to revenge himself for his "dismissal" from his post in 1906, which he quite erroneously and without the slightest justification attributed to Prince Eulenburg. The truth of the matter

<sup>1</sup> See *Editor's Introduction*.

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was that after his Morocco policy (this sinister figure ran the Foreign Office) had culminated in the failure of Algeciras, Holstein tendered his resignation, a thing which he had done at least twenty times already—it was a practice which he indulged whenever he wanted to get his own way—but this time it was promptly accepted by Tschirschky, who was temporarily in charge at the Wilhelmstrasse during Bülow's absence on sick leave, an excuse which safely absolved the latter from his obligation of refusing to accept it ! Another matter which appears to have upset Holstein was his belief that Monsieur Lecomte, Counsellor of the French Embassy in Berlin, had reported to Paris that the Emperor had told him while they were together at Schloss Liebenberg as guests of Prince Eulenburg that he, the Emperor, personally had no intention of going to war with France over Morocco. Actually it was the French Military Attaché to whom the Emperor had spoken in this sense, but Holstein's distorted mind had jumped to the conclusion that Prince Eulenburg and Monsieur Lecomte had been plotting the failure of his Moroccan policy.

### 4. *KASPAR HAUSER*

ON May 26th, 1828, a mysterious youth suddenly appeared out of the blue in the streets of Nürnberg. He was dressed as a peasant and had an air of great bewilderment. This attracted the attention of passers-by. Two letters were found in his possession. One purported to be signed by a workman and stated that the boy had been handed over to his care as a small baby on October 7th, 1812, since when he had been kept a close prisoner. The other, supposedly written by his mother, announced that the boy's name was Kaspar, that he had been born on April 30th, 1812, and that his father who had been a cavalry officer was dead. In July 1828 a Professor Daumer adopted him with a view to educating him. One day in October of the following year he was attacked and hit on the head as he declared by a man with a black face. After this occurrence he was placed in the

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care of a magistrate where he was visited by Earl Stanhope, who took an interest in his case. In December 1833 he was found seriously wounded in the breast and he died within a few days. He is reported to have possessed a magnetic personality. At one time it was believed that he was the legitimate Crown Prince of Baden, son of the Grand Duke Charles. His origin seems not yet to have been finally determined.

### 5. THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" INTERVIEW

ON October 28th, 1908, the *Daily Telegraph* published a report of an interview with the German Emperor on current political questions. It was intended as a message of goodwill to the British Nation. Unfortunately not only was the message couched in indiscreet language but there were as well extremely compromising references to France and Russia and also Japan. The report declared that during the Boer War His Majesty had been England's only friend in Germany, and that it was he who had prevented interference by France and Russia on the side of the Boers. The Emperor also referred to a plan of campaign which he had had drawn up by his General Staff for the guidance of Queen Victoria! This "interview" was really a summary of several interviews which the *Daily Telegraph's* representative (after the event), a Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Wortley, had had with the Emperor whom he had invited to occupy his residence in Hampshire, when he was on a visit to England in the autumn of 1907.

This compromising article would not have been passed for publication by the Wilhelmstrasse except for an oversight. The document was sent to the Chancellor, who happened to be away at his house at Nordenay and who maintained that he had omitted to read it through owing to pressure of work. It was forwarded on to the Wilhelmstrasse to be scrutinised and there it was dealt with by Baron von Jenisch, who passed it and returned it to the Emperor for publication. The appearance of this article created a furore

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in Germany and a sensation throughout the world. Prince Bülow promptly offered his resignation, which was not, however, accepted. The matter was debated by the Federal Council and in the Reichstag, which passed a vote of censure upon the Chancellor by a substantial majority. But as in Germany in practice Imperial Chancellors were responsible only to the Emperor and not to Parliament, and since the Emperor declined to accept his resignation, Prince Bülow remained.<sup>1</sup>

### 6. PRINCE BÜLOW'S "BLOCK" POLICY

GERMAN Colonial enterprise had not been without its setbacks and difficulties. As Colonists the Germans, who lacked the experience of their western neighbours, had made mistakes which had cost them dearly both in men and money. Frequent insurrections had necessitated expeditions and campaigns in the Cameroons, in German East Africa, and particularly in German South-West Africa where the Hereros had risen and attempted to expel the German traders in 1903. The Catholic Centre Party,<sup>2</sup> who took a great interest in Colonial affairs, especially from a humanitarian point of view, did their best to discover what was wrong, disclosed various abuses, and exerted their influence to remedy these, but to an extent which amounted to an unwelcome interference in Colonial matters.

In December 1906 the Centre Party refused to vote the sum of a million and a half pounds required for military operations against the Hereros, but they agreed to vote one million, and solely upon the condition that the number of troops in the Colony was immediately reduced, which would have amounted to an infringement of the Emperor's prerogative as Head of the Army. A division took place in which the Social Democrats joined hands with the Centre Party and defeated the Government by 177 votes to 168. Prince Bülow, who was under no obligation to do so—a point which should be borne in mind by readers of these Letters who wish to understand the structure of the German

<sup>1</sup> See *Editor's Introduction*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



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Political system—dissolved the Reichstag and the alliance between the Conservative and Catholic Centre Parties came to an end. Bülow, who desired in future to be independent of a Party which having more or less dominated the Government for nearly twenty years had had to be constantly bribed for its support, now appealed to the Nation to vote against that Party. He wished to ensure for the Government a new working majority and to see the power of the Centre curtailed but not excluded. He issued an electioneering manifesto in which he appealed for the subordination of Party to National interests and called upon the Conservatives, the National Liberals and the Radicals to join together against the Centre and the Social Democrats. Thus came into being Bülow's much discussed Parliamentary "Block." The Centre Party had gained a few seats, whereas the Social Democrats had lost nearly half their seats to the Conservative and Liberal groups. The South-West African war vote was granted, and Doktor Dernburg, who formerly had been a Bank Director, was created Germany's first Colonial Secretary. Previously the Colonies had been run as a department of the Foreign Office. This new departure effected a great improvement in colonial administration and in colonial affairs generally.

The "Block" lasted until the summer of 1909 when large sums were required for the army, navy, the colonies, increased salaries, deficits, etc. etc. To meet these requirements the Government advocated the introduction of Imperial Death Duties—these existed already in the separate States—but the Conservatives at once protested and were joined by the Catholic Centre Party, who had resented Bülow's attitude in the last elections. The proposal was rejected by a majority of eight votes on June 24th. The "Block" was at an end and Prince Bülow retired on July 14th.

### *7. PIUS X AND GERMANY*

ON September 8th, 1907, Pius X promulgated an Encyclical, "De Pascendi Dominici Gregis." This followed a Decree of

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the Sacred Congregation of the Roman Inquisition which had been issued in July. This Decree, "*Lamentabili*," had specified and condemned sixty-five Modernistic Propositions. The aim of the Encyclical which followed was to expose and condemn the errors current in modernistic thought and tendencies. It was in three parts. First an analysis of modernistic teaching and an examination of three dominant modernistic ideas, Agnosticism, Immanentism and Evolutionism. The second dealt with the causes of Modernism—Pride and Ignorance. The third part set forth the remedies, the Diocesan censorship of books, the study of scholastic philosophy in seminaries and the taking of an oath rejecting the errors denounced in the Decree and Encyclical by Clergy and Professors of Theology at Universities. Its motive was to defend the Catholic Church not only from enemies without but from incipient and insidious heresies within. In Germany, where the Encyclical was received with reticence, it caused a certain misgiving and raised a number of difficulties. The oath against modernism demanded of teachers was regarded as an encroachment by the Church upon the province of the State. An instance may be given. Cardinal Fischer, the Archbishop of Cologne, had forbidden students to attend the lectures of a Bonn Professor, Herr Schroer, partly on account of his views and partly because of a book which he had published. The students objected to the Cardinal's bann and the Professor protested to Berlin. The authorities maintained that the Archbishop was in the wrong. In any case the confirmation of the Government was required to give effect to an episcopal decision of that nature. Thus in Germany the Encyclical was likely to complicate the relations of the ecclesiastical authorities with the State, and in Germany the various States had always upheld the principal of the Sovereignty of the civil power. A German Catholic Priest addressed a personal letter to the Pope in which he drew attention to the embarrassment and difficulties to which the Encyclical would lead. He pointed out that if Catholicism wished to make an impression on society it was a mistake to

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isolate itself or combat society. That formerly it had been the practice of the Vatican to conform to the varying characteristics of peoples and of epochs, and that this policy had contributed to its success. Cardinal Kopp, the Archbishop of Breslau, also would appear to have drawn attention to the impracticability of some of the Vatican's demands. The Encyclical was followed in November by a *Motu Proprio* equally denunciatory in character.

On May 26th, 1910, Pius X issued the "Borromeo" Encyclical in which reference was made to the efforts of Saint Borromeo, who had been Cardinal of Milan from 1538 to 1584, to combat the activities of "dissolute princes and peoples." The Encyclical declared that evangelical freedom had led to a depravity of morals and upbringing scarcely equalled in the Middle Ages. This denunciation roused the ire of German Protestants. On June 6th the Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, instructed Mühlberg, the Ambassador to the Curia, to make a protest, and King Friedrich August of Saxony protested as well on behalf of his Protestant subjects. On June 9th there were interpolations in Parliament by the Conservatives and the National Liberals. The Centre Party maintained the view that the Encyclical was purely an internal matter and the concern of the Catholic Church. None-the-less two newspapers of the Centre Party expressed their regret. On June 11th the Curia let it be known officially that the German Bishops had received instructions not to publish the Encyclical, and two days later the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, informed the Prussian Minister that the Encyclical had been interpreted in a way quite other than that which had been intended by the Pope, who much regretted the misunderstanding. His Holiness had not had the remotest intention of causing offence to the German Princes or Peoples. Furthermore he had never missed an opportunity of making known to the Germans and their rulers his affection for them.

In 1910 a Papal Decree fixed the age of first Communion at about the seventh year. The Decree met with criticism

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in some Catholic countries, particularly in France, where it had been the custom for children to wait until their thirteenth or fourteenth year before receiving their first Communion. Pius X, who had a great love of children, was of the opinion that the benefits of frequent Communion should be made accessible to them at as early an age as possible. The Decree pointed out that in the first days of the Church Holy Communion was given even to infants—if subsequently the age of reason and discretion had been fixed as the time for first Communion this did not mean that a fuller knowledge was required for the reception of the Holy Eucharist than for the Sacrament of Penance.

### 8. *DEVELOPMENTS IN ALSACE LORRAINE*

At first Alsace Lorraine had been placed under the absolute rule of the German Emperor and it was governed from Berlin. Military Service was made compulsory there as elsewhere in the Empire, and many important reforms were introduced. Railways were improved and new roads built. But in the Laws there existed a "Dictator Paragraph" which empowered the chief authority to proclaim martial law at his discretion. The existence of this clause led to great dissatisfaction and it was not abolished until 1902. In 1873 a School Law was passed by which school inspection was transferred to the State and only German teachers were appointed. In January 1874 the Province was permitted to send fifteen deputies to the Reichstag. Later these divided into two parties—Protestors and Autonomists. The former objected to being incorporated within the German Empire and the Autonomists desired self-government within the Empire. In October that year Bismarck created a Provincial Council of thirty members whose duty it was to advise upon measures concerning the Province. In 1877 Bismarck increased further the powers of the Provincial Council, which enabled this body to pass laws and sanction the Budget, subject to control from Berlin. In 1879 Bismarck had a

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Constitution drawn up which empowered the Emperor to delegate his Sovereignty to a Statthalter or Governor, who was to represent the Imperial Chancellor in the internal affairs of Alsace Lorraine and who was to reside at Strassburg. The Alsace Lorraine Department of the Imperial Chancellory in Berlin was abolished and a formal ministry under a Secretary of State with several departments was created instead. The Statthalter was assisted by a Council of State. The Province was to be represented in the Bundesrat or Federal Council by Commissioners but without a vote. The first Statthalter to be appointed was Field-Marshal von Man-teuffel, whose conciliatory policy was criticized in Prussia as being too pro-French. He had permitted natives who had chosen French nationality and emigrated in accordance with the Treaty of Frankfort of 1871 to return home again. His conciliatoriness, however, did not succeed in overcoming the hostility of the inhabitants. At his death in 1885 he was succeeded by Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe, who governed with a sterner hand. He removed persons suspected of being pro-French or anti-German from official billets, dissolved hostile organisations, banished those whom his predecessor had permitted to return, and amongst other things he introduced a passport system which proved a great inconvenience. The result of his measures was to add to the discontent in the Province.

The Imperial German Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, who had succeeded Prince Bülow in 1909, had formed the opinion that no progress could be made in that part of the Empire until attempts to Prussianise Alsace Lorraine had been abandoned.<sup>1</sup> A new Constitution was granted in 1911. Alsace Lorraine was created a semi-autonomous Federal State but without political independence, the Emperor taking the place of an independent Sovereign. The Statthalter continued to reside at Strassburg as the Emperor's

<sup>1</sup> *There had been an idea at one time of partitioning the province between Bavaria, Baden and Prussia, Alsace to go to Bavaria and Baden, Lorraine to Prussia, but nothing came of it.*

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representative. He occupied as regards the Province the same position as the Imperial Chancellor *vis-à-vis* the Empire. The powers of the Federal Council were abolished and a Diet consisting of two Chambers was established. One half of the members of the Upper House were nominated by the Emperor, the other half was composed of five *ex-officio* members, and included the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Strassburg and Metz, and the remainder were elected. The Lower House consisted of sixty deputies, who were elected democratically in the same manner as the Reichstag. Members received payment and their travelling expenses. The Province was allowed three representatives to the Federal Council, though these were appointed by the Statthalter. Their votes were not to be counted when the matter under discussion referred to alterations of the imperial Constitution or when their votes would give a Majority to Prussia. During the passage of the Bill attempts were made by the Liberal elements in the Reichstag to introduce amendments which would have deprived the Federal Council and the Reichstag of power to interfere in the internal administration of Alsace Lorraine, but these were defeated by the Government.

### 9. THE HANOVER-PRUSSIAN SQUABBLE

ON the death of William IV and the accession of his niece Victoria to the British Throne the Kingdom of Hanover, which had been united with Great Britain for 123 years, passed to the fifth son of George III, Ernst August, Duke of Cumberland. At his death he was succeeded by George V, the blind King. During the Austro-Prussian conflict over the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in 1866 Hanover took the side of Austria, and as a consequence Prussian troops crossed the frontier in June and Hanover was formally annexed by Prussia in September 1866. The old King died in June 1878. His son, Ernst August, also Duke of Cumberland, who lived at Gmunden in Austria, and where he died comparatively recently, refused to give up his claim to the Throne of Hanover, and on this account the Imperial German Govern-

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ment refused to allow him to take possession of the Duchy of Brunswick and Lüneburg, which he had inherited upon the extinction of the elder branch of his family in 1884. As the late Duke William of Brunswick and Lüneburg had arranged that the Government of the Duchy should be carried on by a Council of Regency until such time as the rightful Heir should take possession of the Duchy, Prince Albert of Hohenzollern was elected Regent. He ruled until 1906. Upon his death the Brunswick Diet petitioned the Federal Council to permit the youngest son of the Duke of Cumberland to succeed to the Duchy on renouncing his claim to the Throne of Hanover. This request was refused and in May 1907 the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was elected Regent. However, upon the marriage of the German Emperor's only daughter, Princess Victoria Luise of Prussia, to Ernst August, the Duke of Cumberland's eldest surviving son in 1913, and after the latter had renounced his rights in favour of his son, the Duchy of Brunswick and Lüneburg was presented to them as a wedding present.

### 10. *THE ZABERN AFFAIR*

EARLY in November a young officer, Lieutenant Freiherr von Forstner of the 99th Infantry Regiment, which was quartered in Strassburg, had occasion to address some recruits. In the course of his address he issued a warning against interference with the inhabitants but suggested at the same time if they, the recruits, were interfered with or insulted in any way by the people, then they should "stick" the "Wackern" (an objectionable word in Alsace) and he would give ten marks for each one. A corporal who was present announced that he was prepared to add a further three marks to every ten. This expression of sentiment on the part of the officer and the corporal became notorious. It was taken up by local newspapers and caused grave offence. It was also reported that during the trial of a soldier on a charge of stabbing, Lieutenant Forstner had made the remark that if the victim had been an Alsatian there wouldn't have been any fuss.

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These reports led to disturbances. The troops were booed in the streets and on the evening of Saturday, November 8th, there were noisy demonstrations outside the officers' mess. On the Sunday afternoon an infuriated crowd collected outside a house where Lieutenant Forstner was known to be. The police and Fire Brigade were summoned, but the firemen refused to turn their hoses on the crowd and instead pointed them up to the sky so that the water came down like rain. The crowd retaliated by putting up their umbrellas ! Colonel von Reuter, who was in command of the regiment, called out the troops, cleared the streets and made several arrests. Civil Authorities were amongst those who had to spend the night in prison. A few days later, early in the morning, as Lieutenant Forstner was passing through Dettweiler, a village about five miles from Zabern, with his company, some workmen jeered. Forstner ordered their arrest, whereupon the workmen promptly bolted, with the exception of a lame cobbler named Blanck, who had not been able to escape. He was seized and Forstner hit him over the head with his sword, causing severe injuries. This second incident created a great scandal. Enquiries were held and debates took place in the Reichstag. The Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, declared that he regarded the procedure of the military as illegal. A vote of no confidence in the Chancellor was passed by 293 votes to 54. (This expression of public criticism did not however affect the Chancellor's position.)

At a court-martial at which Forstner declared that he had understood the word "Wackern" meant merely "rowdies" and that the cobbler had been in the act of attacking a soldier when he struck him, he was sentenced to forty-three days imprisonment. The garrison was removed from Strassburg to Hagenau. Reuter was later decorated by the Emperor and given command of a regiment of Grenadiers at Frankfort-on-the-Oder.



## B. THE MOROCCO PROBLEM

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### 1. *THE TANGIER "COUP DE THÉÂTRE"*

ON a stormy day in 1905, it was the 31st of March, the Emperor William, who was on a yachting trip in the Mediterranean, anchored off Tangier. He had gone there much against his wishes at the instigation of Herr von Holstein and the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bülow. The sea was very rough and he disembarked with considerable misgiving, but once on shore worse still was in store. He was now obliged to mount a fiery Arab stallion and ride to the square, which he found occupied by an enthusiastic multitude gesticulating and uttering loud cries and who, as the police informed him, were predominantly an assembly of Spanish anarchists. Actually a number of official deputations, including all the European residents in Tangier and the district, and an uncle of the Sultan Abdul Azziz, were there to receive him. The object of this visit was to announce to the world the German Emperor's recognition of the Sultan of Morocco as an independent sovereign and ruler of that country. This gesture produced violent repercussions throughout Europe. The events which led up to this unanticipated step and subsequent crisis are as follows.

In 1880 representatives of the leading European Powers had met together at Madrid and signed the Madrid Convention; an agreement between the Powers and the Sultan of Morocco providing for a policy of the "Open Door" in that country. Although at that time no specific mention of this occurred in the Treaty, the fact of its signature implied recognition by all the signatory Powers of the independence and integrity of the Sultan. This had remained the view of the British Government until 1904. In Britain it was felt

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that the route to India would be imperilled if the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Morocco were to fall into the hands of one of the European Powers. Besides, Great Britain possessed considerable commercial interests there. However, in 1904 France and Britain decided to settle their differences and come to an arrangement about matters outstanding in various parts of the world. A convention was signed in April by Lord Lansdowne and Monsieur Delcassé relating to Newfoundland, West Africa, Siam, Madagascar, the New Hebrides, Egypt and Morocco. To the public declaration regarding the two latter countries secret articles were attached offering a free hand to France in Morocco in exchange for non-interference on the part of France in Egypt, and taking into account a sphere of influence for Spain. In the autumn France and Spain signed a public declaration also with secret articles laying down in certain eventualities Spain's sphere of influence in Morocco, with a proviso that Spain should not exercise her right of action except with the consent of France for a period of fifteen years. As early as 1900 Monsieur Delcassé, having agreed with Italy to give her a free hand as regards Tripoli, had proposed to Spain a partition of Morocco. At that time the Segasta Cabinet were unwilling to adopt these suggestions and resigned. The Silvela Cabinet which followed refused to pursue the matter out of consideration for British views. In that year France annexed the Tuat oases, to which Morocco laid a nominal claim, but in the years 1901 and 1902 France signed agreements with the Sultan declaring attachment to Moroccan independence and to ensure peace in the Moroccan Algerian frontier regions. During these years nevertheless uprisings against the authority of the Sultan Abdul Azziz occurred and he began contracting loans with French financiers. In September 1903 Bülow learnt from Queen Maria Cristina of Spain, who was then on a visit in Vienna, that the principal features of a Treaty of Demarcation regarding Morocco had been arranged. The Chancellor thereupon enquired from Spain whether Germany was to receive a share or compensation, but he received only

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polite and evasive answers. And in March 1904 the Kaiser had told the King of Spain in the presence of the German Ambassador, when they were together at Vigo, that he was not seeking territory in Morocco but only to secure equal opportunity of trading and the participation of German capital in the development of that country. (This statement embarrassed the Wilhelmstrasse, who even at that time would have liked to have sent a warship to Tangier on some pretext.) Germany's point of view was defined by Holstein in June as follows : If Morocco were to fall into the hands of France this would mean the introduction of the French prohibitive system and the exclusion of German trade and capital. Proximity of frontiers alone was no reason for claiming preferential political treatment. To permit a question in which German interests were involved to be settled without her co-operation would be injurious to her prestige. If others were permitted to ignore Germany in Morocco without protest this would be an encouragement for the same thing to happen elsewhere. Besides, Germany possessed considerable commercial interests there already. It was these considerations which had determined the Wilhelmstrasse to insist upon the drastic step of a demonstration at Tangier.

This event, which startled Europe, raised suspicions in France of Germany's desire to crush her whilst her ally Russia was still incapacitated as a result of the Russo-Japanese War. In England it was regarded as a manifestation against the recently concluded Anglo-Franco rapprochement. In the meantime France had proposed a series of reforms to the Sultan. The latter now asked whether he might reckon on Germany's support if he refused the French proposals so long as these were not sanctioned by a conference of the Powers. He was told he might. However, the German Government were now embarrassed by French overtures as to what Germany would expect from France as the price of her consent to a French Protectorate over Morocco. Rouvier, the French Prime Minister, suggested some arrangement might be made. The German Government found itself in

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a dilemma. Germany would like to have obtained something on the Atlantic seaboard of Morocco or in the French colonies in Africa. But unfortunately the Emperor had more than once publicly proclaimed Germany's disinterestedness so that she was scarcely in a position to demand compensation without appearing thoroughly inconsistent. And then it would also have been necessary to sacrifice the Sultan to the French after having encouraged him to oppose them. This in its turn might have had a bad effect upon the Mohammedan world, whose protector the Kaiser had so publicly proclaimed himself in his speech at Damascus on November 8th, 1898. Rouvier then proposed a general clearing up of all colonial questions in dispute between France and Germany on the pattern of the Anglo-French treaty. But Bülow was not agreeable to this and omitted to inform the Kaiser, who at that time was anxious for a Continental League. He therefore ignored Rouvier's offer. On May 28th the Sultan declined the French proposals for reform and on the 31st he invited the Powers to a Conference at Tangier. On June 7th Delcassé, who was opposed to the idea of a conference at all cost, was obliged to resign as he found himself in a minority of one in the Cabinet. He was succeeded after an interval in the Autumn by Monsieur Pichon. During the preparatory negotiations it was decided to hold the Conference at Algeciras instead of at Tangier, to which the French had objected, and Bülow consented to the Conference granting France a mandate for special protective measures in the districts adjoining Algeria. Later he agreed to France's special interest as a neighbour in the maintenance of order throughout the whole of Morocco.

Germany's policy at this time was in the first place not to be left out in the cold, and secondly to obtain compensation somewhere for her consent to French ambitions. The Conference was to be the means of releasing her from her earlier promises to the Sultan, and it was to put an end to the attempt at international control which she believed was unworkable. She would then be in a position to say she had

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redeemed her word by carrying out this effort. If this proved impracticable everyone, including herself, would be free.

The Algeciras Conference took place in the Spring of 1906 and the Act was signed on April 8th. Austria, which firmly supported Germany, nevertheless had counselled prudence. Italy, which had not lost sight of prospects in Tripoli, and bearing in mind her engagements with Delcassé in 1900 in this connection, had no wish to jeopardise her chances in that quarter. Russia and Great Britain supported France, Spain supported neither.

The Algeciras Act, consisting of one hundred and twenty-three articles, was signed by the representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and the Sultan, and dealt with a variety of matters, including the setting up of a state bank to be supervised by censors appointed by certain of the Powers and various regulations in connection with the policing of the country and the ports. But the most important article was that which recorded the Powers' acknowledgment of the independence and integrity of Morocco. Another article again officially recognised the economic equality of all nations.

The signature of this comprehensive document might have appeared to be the solution of this complicated problem. Unfortunately this was not the case. If the crisis had passed worse complications were soon to arise.

In the Autumn of that year there were again disturbances. They seem to have been somewhat exaggerated, but France and Spain felt matters sufficiently serious to send warships to Tangier. Germany had considered doing so, but the Emperor intervened with the Wilhelmstrasse to prevent this. The Sultan sent a couple of thousand troops to Tangier and order was soon restored, and at the end of January 1907 the French and Spaniards withdrew. Just at this time Mulai Hafid, the brother of the Sultan, Abdul Azziz, revolted against him and gained a strong following in the country. France offered to help Abdul Azziz in return for considerable con-

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cessions. Germany advised refusal of this offer. In March a Frenchman, Doctor Mauchamp, was murdered in Marakesh. France promptly occupied Udja, a town just over the Algerian boundary, and pressed for reforms. Germany advised compliance but stipulated that the views of the Conference Powers should be ascertained. France again endeavoured to find out whether some general colonial agreement might be possible whereby Germany should receive compensation elsewhere and renounce all claims in Morocco. Rosen, the German Minister in Tangier, strongly advised acting on this suggestion, but the Emperor, not at this period aware of France's earlier offers, demanded nothing less than a firm alliance with Germany. He pointed out that in the event of war "France would have to pay for England's broken crockery," and Count Bülow wished to avoid the appearance of "bargaining in Morocco as if we were selling it for a mere 'pourboire'."

In August yet more disturbances occurred, this time at Casablanca. There works were in progress for improving the harbour; these were beyond the ramparts and close to the Moslem cemetery. Some neighbouring tribesmen who suspected desecration attacked and murdered nine workmen, including French and Spaniards. This incident induced France to send troops there and establish a French police force in several seaport towns. Germany, however, remained a passive spectator as she did not wish to disturb her slowly improving relations with England.

As the dispute between the Sultan Abdul Azziz and his brother Mulai Hafid developed Germany tended to lean towards Mulai Hafid as the more probable future ruler, whereas France remained loyal to Abdul Azziz. The latter, however, was forced to retreat to the coast to Rabat, and on January 4th, 1908, a Ulema announced his deposition. Increasing and constant disturbances caused France to land further troops. These penetrated a distance of a hundred kilometres into the interior. Mulai Hafid now sent a special Ambassador to Berlin and requested that he should be recognised as Sultan and that Germany should urge France to

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withdraw her troops. Germany loyally consulted France in the matter and refrained from interference (although it was felt there that France was standing by Abdul Azziz only in order to prevent the country from settling down). As France kept on delaying, she was informed that there was no mandate for France and Spain to negotiate in the name of the Powers with Mulai Hafid and determine the conditions of his recognition. And the question was raised with the other signatory Powers on August 31st. When France submitted the draft of the conditions requisite for his recognition by the other Powers Germany raised objections to the text of the document. Whilst these negotiations were proceeding between Monsieur Jules Cambon—the new French Ambassador who had succeeded Monsieur Bihour—and the Wilhelmstrasse, yet another complication arose. The German Consul in Casablanca had sought to assist some deserters from the Foreign Legion to escape on board a German vessel. This was forcibly prevented by French soldiers and three non-German deserters were taken prisoners. Lengthy but conciliatory negotiations followed. The Emperor, who had learnt more of his Government's policy in 1905, desired to be as pleasant as possible. He declared that hitherto Germany's Morocco policy had proved a failure and ordered that if practicable Germany should withdraw with dignity and come to an understanding with France as quickly as possible. He wrote to Bülow, "This wretched Morocco affair must be brought to a conclusion quickly and finally. There is nothing to be made of it, let it be French ! . . ." France withdrew a portion of her troops from Morocco and met the wishes of Germany regarding the text of the document laying down the terms for Mulai Hafid's observance. In October Freiherr von Schoen, the Secretary of State, informed Monsieur Cambon that the Kaiser desired to have a permanent understanding with France regarding Morocco. Another and most serious crisis was looming on the horizon due to the sudden and unexpected annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. Germany now offered to

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recognise France's privileged position there provided the integrity and independence of the Sherifian Empire and the economic equality of all nations were respected. Certainly there was considerable surprise in Paris at Germany's sudden and unexpected compliance. People wondered whether Bülow were trying to lure England into concessions in the matter of the Bagdad Railway, or whether he wished to make France feel that the Entente was no longer necessary. However, Clemenceau, who was then Prime Minister, informed Prince Radolin, the German Ambassador, that France was not seeking a war of revenge, and "the unfortunate Monsieur Lecomte," Counsellor of the French Embassy at Berlin, was believed by Holstein to have been told privately by the Emperor when they were guests of Prince Philip Eulenburg at Schloss Liebenberg, that His Majesty had no intention of being dragged into a war over Morocco. (This seems to have been a source of considerable annoyance to the Wilhelmstrasse.) On February 9th, 1909, the Franco-German Treaty was signed and published. This was a declaration to the effect that both nations agreed to uphold the integrity and independence of Morocco and to safeguard the principle of economic equality, also Germany recognised the special position of France in that country.

London and Vienna both evinced the liveliest satisfaction. Monsieur Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, acknowledged Germany's loyal co-operation. It seemed as though the Morocco Problem had been solved. But the last and most dangerous phase was yet to follow.

### 2. AGADIR CRISIS AND SETTLEMENT

ON July 1st, 1911, the *Panther*, a small German gunboat, anchored off Agadir, a harbour on the South Coast of Morocco, and simultaneously a note was sent to the Powers apprising them of this fact. The appearance of this ship created greater consternation in London and Paris even than had the Kaiser's unexpected visit to Tangier in the Spring of 1905; it produced a first-class international crisis, and



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set in motion forces which contributed to the explosion of August 1914. The note explained that the dispatch of the *Panther* had been necessitated by the danger to German lives and property due to the disturbances in Morocco, and that as soon as order had been restored the boat would be withdrawn. The reasons which had induced Germany to make this second gesture were as follows.

Matters had not been entirely satisfactory in Morocco since the Franco-German treaty of 1909. Obstacles had been raised by France to the commercial enterprises of the German Firm of Mannesmann, the French had occupied all the most important administrative posts, and in March 1911 Monsieur Delcassé, Germany's old enemy, had reappeared on the scenes as Minister of Marine in the French Cabinet. Fresh disturbances, which were probably grossly exaggerated, on the Coast and in Fez decided the French Government to occupy the latter. The French Ambassador in Berlin, Monsieur Cambon, informed the German Government of France's intention and Herr Kiderlen Waechter, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, told Monsieur Cambon if the French remained permanently at Fez that the Sultan would no longer be regarded as an independent Sovereign, and one of the main conditions of the Algeciras Treaty would lapse, in which case Germany would consider that she was no longer bound by it. Kiderlen's plan was to ask the French how long they intended to remain at Fez, and if they did not withdraw at the end of a stated period to declare the Algeciras Treaty at an end and demand compensation, sending a warship to occupy a suitable harbour as a pledge until the desired compensation should be forthcoming. He had received information through various sources that France would give Germany whatever she wanted in the way of Colonial territory provided she were left a free hand in Morocco.

On May 21st the French occupied Fez and on May 30th Cruppi, the French Foreign Minister, promised that if circumstances led them further than they intended they would come to an understanding with Germany ; at the same time Herr

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von Schoen, now German Ambassador in Paris, was led to understand that France was prepared to transfer her Congo Colony to Germany in exchange for the smaller territory of Togo. On June 10th Cruppi informed the Ambassador that Fez would be evacuated as soon as order had been restored. In the middle of June, Cambon, in Berlin, dropped a hint to the Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, as regards the Congo. On June 19th Cambon and Kiderlen met at Kissingen to discuss this matter further, after which Cambon left for Paris for further instructions. Meanwhile the Spaniards, who were becoming restive at the turn of events, had sent troops into their sphere of influence. Herr Zimmermann, the German Under-Secretary, pressed for a vigorous anti-French policy. He urged that at least four warships should make their appearance off Morocco, as this show of determination on Germany's part would have a tranquillising effect! Kiderlen, however, wished to await Cambon's return with an offer from Paris before taking action. However, as the French Ambassador for several days after his return made no move, Kiderlen decided to proceed with his plan, and on June 26th he journeyed to Kiel and obtained the Emperor's consent to send a warship, which as stated arrived off Agadir on July 1st. On July 9th Monsieur Cambon saw Herr Kiderlen but he refrained from making any actual offer about the Congo, and they met again on the 15th, but still Cambon avoided the subject, whereupon Kiderlen appears to have lost patience and declared that it was his private opinion that Germany would demand the whole of the French Congo. A report of this conversation was submitted to the Emperor, who forbade any steps involving threats being taken during his absence. The Emperor had no intention of allowing Morocco to lead to a European War if he could prevent it. Kiderlen, however, wrote to the Chancellor that nothing could be gained unless the Quai d'Orsay were made to feel that failure of the negotiations meant War. He wrote, "Those who declare in advance that they will not fight cannot expect success in

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politics." Kiderlen added that if the Emperor or the Chancellor disagreed with his policy he would resign. However, as a result of a personal interview with Bethmann, Kiderlen withdrew his threat, and the Chancellor assured the Emperor he would not exceed the limits laid down for him without His Majesty's authority, but he pointed out if no compensation were obtainable from France that he would have no line of retreat save the unsatisfactory one of insisting upon the carrying out of the Act of Algeciras. Cruppi rejected the German demands but authorised further negotiations.

In London these events produced the greatest indignation and the English Press was particularly wrathful. It was feared that Germany had seized Agadir with the intention of remaining there. This would provide Germany with a Naval Port and Coaling Station on the Atlantic Coast of Morocco. Furthermore England did not like France and Germany settling such an important question as Morocco without taking part in negotiations or even being consulted. In fact the indignation aroused by Germany's action was far greater in England than in France. Rightly or wrongly, it was felt Germany was being aggressive. On the morning of July 21st Sir Edward Grey expressed these fears to the German Ambassador, Count Metternich, and that same evening Mr. Lloyd George made his celebrated speech, wherein he declared that Great Britain could not allow herself, where her interests were vitally affected, to be treated as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations. This utterance is a clearer indication than anything of what Great Britain felt on this matter and leaves no room whatever for doubt as to what the outcome would have been had the negotiations not led to a peaceful solution of the quarrel between Germany and France.

The Germans were in a dilemma. Had Metternich been able to give the British Foreign Secretary an emphatic assurance that they had no intention of remaining at Agadir, this warning speech would almost certainly have not been made—but a definite statement to this effect would have created the

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impression in Paris, whither it would inevitably have been immediately communicated, that the occupation of Agadir was not to be taken seriously, which would have compromised negotiations there. However, Metternich was now instructed to announce Germany's intention of not remaining in Southern Morocco. The British Foreign Secretary expressed his relief and said he would announce the fact in Parliament. Kiderlen Waechter instantly objected as he feared the impression would be created that Germany had given way in face of the speech. There followed a stormy interview between the Ambassador and Sir Edward Grey, which, however, as Count Metternich informed his Government, was kept within the bounds of "diplomatic etiquette," and so far as Great Britain was concerned the Crisis was virtually over.

Lengthy negotiations continued between Paris and Berlin. Monsieur Caillaux suggested a general liquidation of all Colonial Questions, including the Bagdad Railway, the Turkish Debt, the admission of German shares to the Paris Bourse, and a fresh delimitation of seaboard territories, but Kiderlen would not agree to this as he was anxious to reach a settlement of the question under dispute as speedily as possible. In September a settlement was at length reached regarding the delimitation of the territory. On October 23rd both Governments exchanged notes expressing a desire for more friendly relations. On November 2nd the Congo Agreement in its final form was signed and on November 4th it was published. At the end of the month, at Monsieur Caillaux's request, the *Panther* was recalled from Agadir.

The Crisis was over. Germany had received an extension of her Cameroon Colony at the expense of the French Congo as compensation for renouncing all further interference in Morocco. Von Lindequist, the German Colonial Secretary, resigned because he considered he had not been sufficiently consulted in the matter. Great Britain had received a shock from which public opinion and official circles never really recovered, and for all practical purposes the Entente with France had become an Alliance.

## C. THE EASTERN QUESTION

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### 1. *A BRIEF EXPLANATION*

THE "Eastern Question" may be said to have arisen with the appearance of the Ottoman Turks in Europe, and to have become a sort of perennial diplomatic crossword puzzle as they receded ; that is to say when the void was being filled by the re-emergence of those Christian Nations and Peoples which the Turks had conquered if not absorbed within the Turkish Empire. This process, which was regulated, assisted, or hindered by the interventions and activities of the European Great Powers interested in the fate of Turkey, affected the relations of these renascent States with each other, complicated the relations of the Powers, and raised a number of most complex problems, the solution of which became a predominant activity of the various European Chancelleries.

The government of the Ottoman Empire, which was a highly centralised theocratic autocracy had been since 1876 in the hands of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II. He has the reputation of having been the craftiest and the most sanguinary of all the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire and his rule was among the longest. Turkey had been granted a Constitution under his predecessor Murad, but this was promptly dispensed with by Abdul Hamid, whose astute diplomacy usually proved successful in playing the Powers off against each other. The Ottoman Turks were really aristocratic nomads who, despising the "infidel," had never been able and had probably not desired to assimilate their Christian subject races within their Empire. And it has been said that the object of their conquests was probably booty.

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Thus success brought success, disaster consequently led to disaster. And so when the tide turned it was perhaps inevitable that these nomadic highwaymen should have exhibited themselves as unfit for governing the vast and heterogeneous empire over which their Sultans held sway and from which they endeavoured to exact tribute.

As the Turkish Empire decayed so the rivalry, jealousy, greed and interference of the European Powers increased. The Treaty of PARIS which followed the Crimean War was intended as a prop for the decaying edifice. The Congress of BERLIN of 1878 had regulated the processes of disintegration. At Paris these highwaymen had been converted into respectable citizens of the European system. At Berlin disillusion had forced the Powers to prepare for the end.

The struggle of Greece for independence had appealed to the classicism of the British governing class, the resurrection of Servia was smiled upon by Russia but created complications for Austria-Hungary with her own restless subject Slav populations; Bulgarians had received the sympathy of the British Liberals, and the subsequent emergence of an independent Bulgaria, the approval of Russia and the equanimity, if not indeed connivance, of Austria-Hungary, which regarded a resurrected Bulgaria as a buffer to Russian aspirations in the Balkans. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia achieved independence as Rumania, and likewise Montenegro which had remained practically unconquered if not politically independent under the rule of its Prince Bishops; Albania was shortly to be created an independent state at the behest of Austria.

However, as these several nations achieved autonomy or regained their full sovereignty, the problem arose as to what was to happen to that remaining portion of Turkey in Europe which had not been incorporated within these resurrected Christian States, and which contain a medley of Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians and Jews as well as Turkish Moslems. This became known as the MACEDONIAN Problem and provided the Powers with excuse for constant

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interference in Turkish affairs. Furthermore the Greeks within and without dreamed of a new Byzantium, the Macedo-Bulgars and their Bulgarian neighbours remembered the glories of Czar Simeon, and the Serbs had not forgotten the mediæval Empire of their ancestor Stephen Dushan. The Great Powers also had their ambitions and were on the watch, ready to pounce upon their morsel as soon as the opportunity should arise.

Russia had had her eyes upon Constantinople ever since the Empress Catherine II had christened her son Constantine in the hope of conquest there. Russia desired above all things access to the Mediterranean which would mean freedom of the Straits for the passage of her ships of war to and from the Black Sea. The closure of the Straits had been re-established after the Crimean War by Article I of the Convention attached to the Treaty of PARIS of 1856, again confirmed by the Treaty of LONDON of March 13th, 1871, and re-confirmed by the Treaty of BERLIN of July 13th, 1878. (More recently Russia is reported to have declared that provided the freedom of the Straits were assured, she would be happy to leave the door in the care of a Turkish concierge, which meant that she had become more or less indifferent as regards the Turkish Capital provided the *status quo* was maintained, but if the Turkish Empire were to be disrupted, then the matter would assume a different aspect and Russia could not regard with equanimity the possibility of the control of the Narrows falling to other hands than her own.) And after her unfortunate Far Eastern policy which led to her defeat by Japan, Russia turned her attention to the Near East. She was not opposed to a Balkan League under her ægis—in other words, she desired a Russian Protectorate over the Balkans.

Austria-Hungary aspired to a port on the Ægean and her eyes were focused on Salonica. If at any time Austria were deprived of her Adriatic ports, and of Dalmatia, then the Danube alone would provide access to the sea, so that if egress from the Black Sea were denied her, Salonica would

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have become indispensable, and Constantinople in the hands of Russia a disaster.

Furthermore, there was a party in Austria headed by the Heir-Apparent, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, which seems to have contemplated what they called "Trialism." This aspired to the eventual incorporation of the Kingdom of Servia, and a portion of Macedonia together with the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the constitution of a TRIAL instead of the DUAL Monarchy. Had this ambitious plan to prevent the probable dissolution of the Monarchy been accomplished it would have solved many problems and the European War might not have taken place. Though it is hard to believe that Russia would readily have acquiesced in this solution of Austrian difficulties in the Balkans, and there were besides other important factors which contributed to the outbreak of the War which are discussed elsewhere in this correspondence. It will now have emerged that the "Eastern Question" involved two major problems, the ultimate fate of the Ottoman Empire and the future of Austria-Hungary.

Italy, which had become a partner with Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance in 1882, had designs upon Albania, and Tripoli had excited her interest ever since the French occupation of Tunis had frustrated her ambitions in that quarter, nor had she altogether given up hope of retrieving Italian territory in Austrian possession.

Germany—in spite of Bismarck's presidency at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, a momentous milestone in the decay of the Ottoman Empire, and von der Goltz's tutorship of the Turkish army—had taken but small interest in the Eastern Question and the fate of Turkey until 1896, when the Emperor William made a journey to Constantinople to pay his respects to Abdul Hamid and to push German trading activities. In 1898 the Emperor William again went on tour in the East, visiting Jerusalem and Damascus, at which latter place he delivered his famous speech wherein he declared his eagerness to be looked upon as the Protector of Islam, and the



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strong-minded Baron Marschall von Bieberstein was appointed German Ambassador at the Porte. Thenceforth the peaceful penetration of the Turkish Empire became Germany's major colonial aspiration, and in furtherance of this object she obtained concessions from the Sultan to build the Bagdad Railway, and once more German officers were sent to organise the Turkish army.

Great Britain's policy in the past had been to support Turkey against Russia, but in more recent times and after the Suez Canal had opened a new route to the East when Constantinople had ceased to be of such vital interest to her and she became of the opinion that the end of the Turkish Empire sooner or later was inevitable, she no longer shared Austria's antipathy to a Russian occupation there. Great Britain's interest in Turkey became largely and increasingly humanitarian and consequently restricted to insisting in concert with the other Powers, especially Russia, upon the carrying out of reforms in connection with the government of Turkey's Christian subjects, particularly those in Macedonia, and the Armenians ; and the payment of the Ottoman Debt.

France's immediate interests in Turkey in recent years had become largely cultural and politically she favoured the *status quo*.

### 2. *MACEDONIA*

THE Treaty of BERLIN of July 13th, 1878, had created the independent States of Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro. Greece had already achieved emancipation in 1832 when she was finally created an independent Kingdom by the Treaty of LONDON of May 7th.

The events which led up to the famous Congress and subsequent Treaty of BERLIN are as follows. An insurrection of the Christians in Herzegovina which broke out in August 1875 caused the European Powers who had signed the Treaty of PARIS of March 30th, 1856, to consider means for bringing pressure to bear upon the Porte. Consequently what is known as the "Andrassy Note," so called after the Austrian

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Chancellor, Count Andrassy, was drawn up in January 1876 by Austria, Russia, and Germany. This Note demanded various reforms with which Great Britain and France concurred. But after further trouble when a French and German Consul had been murdered, on May 11th a more formidable document was evolved—the Berlin Memorandum. France and Italy adhered to this, but the British Government which at that time had no desire to see Turkey weakened refused its consent. On June 30th Servia revolted against Turkey and on July 1st Montenegro likewise. Meanwhile the Turks had repressed an insurrection of their Bulgarian subjects with great brutality. This aroused Mr. Gladstone's ire and lost them the sympathy of the British Liberals, but Lord Beaconsfield would appear to have thought reports exaggerated and he was alarmed at the possible outcome of events. A Conference of the Powers took place at Constantinople to discuss the situation and the question of reforms. Lord Salisbury represented Great Britain at the Conference which took place during December and January 1877. The suggested reforms were refused by the Sultan on the ground that these proposals were an infringement of the Treaty of PARIS guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Russia thereupon declared war on Turkey in April. The Russians captured Adrianople in January 1878, and on March 3rd Russia and Turkey concluded a treaty at SAN STEFANO, a suburb of Constantinople. This well-known document created an autonomous Bulgarian State tributary to Turkey as large as the mediæval Bulgarian Empire, stretching from the Danube to the Ægean and which included almost the whole of Macedonia except Salonica. Had this Treaty been allowed to stand the MACEDONIAN problem might not have arisen, but the other Powers objected. Austria and Great Britain feared that a Big Bulgaria under Russian influence would be a danger to Turkey and a menace to the *status quo*. This discrepancy of view between the Powers led to the CONGRESS and TREATY of BERLIN. A very much smaller Bulgaria was created instead. From this circumstance arose the Problem of MACEDONIA.

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And furthermore, Article XXV of this Treaty decreed that the Turkish Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the inhabitants of which were largely Serbs, should be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary (though they were still to be under the suzerainty of the Porte). What is more, Austria was to be permitted to maintain garrisons in the adjacent Ottoman territory of the Sandjak of Novi Bazar, a tongue dividing Serbia from Montenegro, for the purposes of preserving freedom of communication and "... the maintenance of the new political state of affairs." Thus was the way prepared for the BOSNIAN CRISIS of 1908. It was at the instigation of Bismarck, the German Imperial Chancellor who presided at the Congress, that Austria was permitted to occupy these Turkish Provinces.

That portion of Turkey in Europe which has given its name to the familiar entremet known as "Macedoine de Fruits," contained Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs, Albanians, Rumanians, Jews and Moslems. Greeks predominated on the coast, there were Jews and Greeks in the towns, Bulgars on the plains, and Serbs and Albanians inhabited the North. The Greeks desired to see Macedonia "Hellenised." Bulgaria hoped for its incorporation within a "Greater Bulgaria." The Serbs remembered that it was from Serbia that the greater part of Macedonia had originally been conquered by the Turks. The Montenegrins' sympathies were with their kinsmen, the Serbs.

There would appear to have been three possible solutions of this problem. An autonomous Macedonia under European protection; Turkish reform under European control; partition between the renascent States. But the jealousy of the Powers prevented any one of these being adopted. Meanwhile the condition of the Macedonians was deplorable, misgovernment continued and the Powers became more exacting in their demands. From 1893 to 1903 there occurred sporadic insurrections organised by secret revolutionary committees, and the outbreak of war between Turkey and Greece in 1897 in connection with Crete had aroused expectations in Macedonia, but Austria and Russia had come to a secret under-

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standing to maintain the *status quo* there. In 1899 the "Macedonian Committee" which was established in Sofia addressed a memorandum to the Powers in favour of an autonomous Macedonia under a Christian, preferably a Bulgarian, Governor. It was hoped that an autonomous Macedonia under Bulgarian auspices would eventually lead to the "Big Bulgaria" of the Treaty of SAN STEFANO. However, nothing came of this, and in 1901 a Miss Stone, an American missionary, was captured and held to ransom. Sixteen thousand pounds had to be paid for her release. This drew the attention of the Powers to the Problem acutely and it also alarmed the Sultan, Abdul Hamid. The Porte requested the Powers to force Bulgaria to dissolve its Macedonian Committee. Russia and Austria replied that reforms must first be introduced. Abdul Hamid promised these and appointed Hilmi Pasha as Inspector-General. In February 1903 Austria and Russia drew up a joint scheme known as the "February Programme." But in July more serious disorders occurred subsidised by the money received for Miss Stone. In October the Emperors of Austria and Russia met at a shooting lodge at Muerzsteg in Austria and drew up yet another reform plan described as the "MUERZSTEG PROGRAMME." This arranged for Austrian and Russian Civil Agents to be attached to Hilmi Pasha, the Inspector-General, and the reorganisation of the Gendarmerie under a foreign general aided by military officers of the Powers. General di Giorgis, an Italian, was the first officer to be appointed to the command of the Gendarmerie. His successor was General di Robilant, the recipient of these letters. All the Powers except Germany sent contingents. But these reforms as usual proved abortive. Bulgarian and Greek bands roamed about and made life intolerable for the population. In 1905 the British Government in concert with France, Germany and Italy proposed to appoint a commission under the presidency of the Inspector-General, for the control of Macedonian finance. Abdul Hamid objected and in November Sir Edward Grey despatched an ultimatum backed up by an international naval demonstration. This proved

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effective and the Sultan recognised the four financial experts who had been sent to Salonica as colleagues of the Austrian and Russian Civil Agents. In March 1908 these various arrangements were prolonged for a further period of six years.

Meanwhile early in January, Freiherr von Aehrenthal, the Austrian Foreign Minister, announced that Austria-Hungary had applied to the Porte for sanction to build a railway from Serajevo, the Bosnian terminus, through the Sandjak of Novi Bazar to Mitrovitza, and so connect up with Salonica. Monsieur Iswolski, the Russian Foreign Minister, was furious as he considered this to be a violation of the spirit of the Muerzsteg agreement. It was viewed in Russia as an attempt at the Germanisation of the Near East, and they countered with a demand for a line from the Danube to the Adriatic. The incident created considerable tension between Austria and Russia for some weeks.

On June 9th King Edward, accompanied by naval and military advisers and Sir Arthur Nicolson and Sir Charles Hardinge from the Foreign Office, met the Czar of Russia at Reval. The chief matters discussed were Persia and Macedonia and perhaps the question of the Straits. Mr. Nicolson declares, however, in his extremely interesting biography of Lord Carnock which admirably explains all these matters, that the exchange of views was extremely vague and that the Straits were barely mentioned if at all. It is believed that King Edward suggested to the Czar that he should pay a visit to the King of Italy. In any case a meeting between the two took place at Racconigi in October of the following year at which Italy consented to the observance of a friendly attitude towards Russia in the Question of the Straits in return for Russia's benevolence as regards Italian aspirations in Tripoli. This meeting at Reval between King Edward and the Czar of Russia seriously alarmed Germany, and a few days afterwards the Emperor William made his unfortunate speech at Doeberitz in which he complained of Germany's encirclement.

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In July the "Young Turk" Revolution broke out and this was the end of Macedonian reforms.

#### 3. *THE "YOUNG TURK" REVOLUTION*

IN 1891 a Committee of Turks had been formed at Geneva. It was known as the "Committee of Union and Progress" and its object was the regeneration of Turkey on Western lines. From Geneva it moved to Paris and in 1906 its headquarters were established at Salonica, where it received the support of the Jewish Freemasons and appealed to the more progressively minded amongst the younger army officers. Its activities were not directed against the person of the Sultan Abdul Hamid so much as against the Hamidian Régime, and the incessant foreign intervention in Turkish affairs. This interference on the part of the European Great Powers first began, ironically, when one of the most illustrious of Turkish Sovereigns, the Sultan Solymán the Magnificent granted what are known as the "Capitulations" to François I, King of France, in 1535. These began as privileges conceded freely to French and Catalan merchants, but as the decay of the Empire proceeded these French and Catalan privileges became general demands and ended by being rights enjoyed by every foreign Power in Turkey. These capitulations are so bound up with the history of the Powers' relations with Turkey it is thought as well to enunciate them. Up till the autumn of 1914 when the Capitulations were repudiated by Turkey, these "rights" included: Liberty of conscience for all foreigners or "protected persons"; special customs regulations in their favour; Consuls' right of jurisdiction over their own Nationals; Turkish Police were forbidden to interfere with foreigners without the authorisation and assistance of their respective Consuls; a French Protectorate existed over the Holy Places in Palestine and over all Catholics of every nationality, just as Russia claimed protection of all Turkish subjects who were members of the Orthodox Greek Church; no tax might be imposed on foreigners without the consent of their governments; no monopoly established because

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such would interfere with the liberty of trading guaranteed to foreigners.

In 1881 the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt was established. This consisted of delegates from the European Powers. Its object was to collect and administer the revenues for the service of the Turkish loans. At the end of the eighteenth century European Post Offices had been opened in Turkey and in the nineteenth century letters could be posted in Austrian, English, French, German, Italian or Russian pillar-boxes. In 1840 an International Sanitary Organisation was created at Constantinople to deal with oriental epidemics. It took possession of the principal Turkish ports and levied a special tax on navigation for its own needs. Then there was international control of light-houses and railways, and there were international spheres of influence such as that of Great Britain in Egypt, France in the Lebanon, Greece in the Archipelago, and Austria and Russia in the Balkans and Armenia.

The meeting between King Edward and the Czar at Reval in June 1908 had led the Committee of Union and Progress to fear yet further intervention on the part of the Powers. It had been the intention to begin the revolution on August 31st, the anniversary of the Sultan's accession, but events hastened matters. Early in July sporadic outbreaks had already occurred in Macedonia when some officers had been murdered, but the final spark was struck by nothing more harmful than an impending school treat. The children of the Austrian school at Üsküb were to be taken for an excursion through the gorge of Katchanik in Albania to a wood near Verisovitch, a small town on the line which terminated at Mitrovitza. But the project disturbed the local inhabitants, who feared that occidental school-treat habits might corrupt their morals already contaminated by the music-halls at Üsküb. A platform had been put up for the children to dance and it was rumoured that Austrian flags might be displayed. The Albanians therefore burnt the platform and threatened to open fire on the train if it should attempt to pass the gorge.

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This attitude on the part of the Albanians alarmed the Committee, which feared if the threat were carried out this would be an excuse for Austrian armed intervention. Negotiations thereupon took place with the Albanians of Verisovitch. These joined in with the revolutionary party and a telegram was sent to Abdul Hamid demanding the revival of the Constitution of 1876. On July 23rd, Major Enver Bey and the Committee proclaimed the Constitution at various places in Macedonia, and the 2nd and 3rd Army Corps which were stationed there threatened to march upon the Capital. Abdul Hamid promptly proclaimed the desired Constitution in Constantinople on the 24th and appointed Said Grand Vizier. He summoned a Parliament, guaranteed personal liberty and equality of rights to all his subjects irrespective of race or creed, abolished the censorship of the Press and dismissed his army of 40,000 spies. There was great fraternisation. The Cross and the Crescent embraced each other. Paris, London and even Berlin applauded. But the Emperor Francis Joseph and the Czar of Russia were a little sceptical. A new Turkey would create a barrier to Austrian pretensions in the Balkans and put a break on Russian ambitions there. The defence of Christians in the Near East would become a mere historic recollection. In September the political programme of the Committee made its appearance. Universal suffrage ; election of two-thirds of the Senate by the people ; ministerial responsibility ; the right of the Chamber to initiate laws ; civic equality of all Ottomans ; liberty of learning and associations ; compulsory military service for all ; regulations governing the relations between industrial workers and employers. The European Powers expressed their confidence in the new régime by withdrawing their control from Macedonia. None the less Austria-Hungary decided the moment had arrived to put an end to her provisional occupation and trusteeship of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to assume full ownership. She thereupon announced her annexation of these Turkish provinces on October 6th. Simultaneously Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who had no intention of



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allowing the opportunity to slip, declared Bulgaria an independent Kingdom and proclaimed himself Czar of the Bulgarians. On October 12th Crete declared her independence and union with Greece. However, this was not finally effected until the Balkan War of 1912.

The "Young Turks" soon found themselves up against serious difficulties. Those who had profited under the Hamidian régime were disconcerted, religious sentiment was offended, the Musulman clergy declared the Unionists were defying Allah and that the new laws would make the Christians the equals of the "Believers." European customs would corrupt Turkey. Furthermore, the Arabs and Kurds were hostile, parliamentary government proved a complication and the liberty of the Press a danger. Reactionary parties arose and a way was prepared for the counter-revolution which broke out on April 13th the following year. Abdul Hamid hoped to restore the old system of absolute government. Young Turk officers were murdered and the parliament house was occupied and Tewfick Pasha appointed Grand Vizier. But ten days later an army of Young Turkish troops commanded by Mahmoud Shevket Pasha marched from Salonica and occupied Constantinople. Abdul Hamid was deposed and his brother proclaimed Sultan as Mohammed V. The Young Turks had recognised the antithesis of a democratic state governed by an absolute autocrat, but Abdul's life was spared and he was deported with his harem to Salonica. His successor was a mere puppet in their hands. The real leaders of the country were Enver, Talaat, Djavid, Hakki and Shevket.

#### *4. THE BOSNIAN CRISIS*

IN a memorandum of June 19th in connection with the possibility of an Austrian annexation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Russian desires with regard to the Freedom of the Straits, Monsieur Iswolski, the Russian Foreign Minister, informed the Austrian Government that although neither of these two questions could be settled

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without the consent of the Powers signatory of the Treaty of BERLIN he was prepared to discuss the matters in a friendly spirit. Freiherr von Aerenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, replied on August 27th if Austria were to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, then Russia would adopt a friendly attitude, and Austria would evacuate the Sandjak of Novi Bazar and agree to a confidential and friendly exchange of views regarding the Straits. Meanwhile the Turkish revolution having broken out in July, what in Austria had hitherto been but an aspiration now became in her view an urgent necessity. A rejuvenated Turkey might wish to dispense with Austrian trusteeship. Bulgaria also recognised the opportunity. On August 19th Iswolski, who had left St. Petersburg intending to visit Rome, Paris, London and Berlin with a view to obtaining consent to the opening of the Straits, stopped on the way at Carlsbad, where he met Count Berchtold, then Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who happened to be taking the cure. The latter persuaded Iswolski to visit him at his castle of Buchlau in Moravia where Baron Aerenthal was also expected. The visit took place in the middle of September. It would seem that Iswolski then assented to the annexation of these provinces by Austria and that Aerenthal was prepared to agree to the opening of the Straits provided that the other signatory Powers gave their consent. Iswolski seems not to have understood this condition but to have taken matters for granted.

Earlier Aerenthal had visited Baron von Schoen, the German Minister who was at Berchtesgaden in Bavaria, and had hinted at the possibility of annexation. While there he also expressed his desire to stamp out Servian revolutionary activities. At the end of September Iswolski also visited Schoen and said that he believed Aerenthal was going to act in the matter of the provinces early in October. On September 29th and 30th the Russian Minister discussed the matter with the Italian Minister Tittoni at Dessio. The latter was alarmed and begged in Vienna for postponement of the annexation and also asked Berlin to use her influence with

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Vienna, as he feared that Italy would be left out of the deal.

A few days previously, on September 23rd, Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria visited the Emperor Francis Joseph at Budapesth. Here views were exchanged, but no precise understanding appears to have been reached as to dates. It is believed Aerenthal wished to act first, but Ferdinand, who did not wish to create an impression of having received encouragement by Austria's example, declared Bulgarian independence on October 5th and also proclaimed himself Czar. Austria announced her annexation of the provinces on October 6th. It had been the intention to make the announcement on October the 6th or 7th by means of autograph letters from the Emperor Francis Joseph to be delivered by his Ambassadors personally to the heads of States. Unfortunately there were one or two mistakes. President Fallières was about to leave Paris for the country on a shooting expedition, so Count Khevenhüller delivered the letter a couple of days too soon and inadvertently let out that Bulgaria would precede Austria by one day, when Aerenthal was about to declare that there was no sort of connection between the two events. King Edward, who had gone to Balmoral, only received the Emperor Francis Joseph's communication from the hands of Count Mensdorf on October 8th.

The annexation brought about an immediate and most serious international crisis. King Edward was extremely upset and expressed his fears as to the future consequences. The British Government were particularly annoyed at Austria's flagrant breach of the Treaty of BERLIN. The Emperor William was furious and also alarmed at one ally disremembering "another," and he very much resented having been kept in the dark by his Chancellor, Prince Bülow. France, to whom Austria had been useful during the Algecirias Conference in connection with the Morocco Problem, had no great desire to make difficulties. Italy adopted the same point of view as the British Government. Iswolski's anger increased daily and in proportion as he found himself meeting with no response in Paris and London for his "Straits" plan, but what

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appears to have influenced him more than anything else was his feeling that he had been successfully duped by Aerenthal, although he had received a letter on October 2nd while he was in Paris telling him that the annexation would take place within a few days, and he seems at that date to have made no objections. The Servian Government promptly asked for war credits, sent a protest to the Powers and demanded compensation; Prince George, the Crown Prince, hurried to St. Petersburg to appeal to the Czar. Turkey retaliated by a boycott of Austrian goods. Aerenthal was made a Count.

In November the Emperor William visited Francis Joseph and the Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Erkatsau, where he was fully informed by Aerenthal about the whole matter and the preliminary proceedings. The Heir-Apparent threatened if Iswolski proceeded in his lying that his written agreement in the possession of the Ballplatz would be published, but he indicated that, if it would make things easier for Russia, then Austria would agree to a Conference of the Powers signatory of the Treaty of BERLIN provided that beforehand an understanding on all points had been reached. In St. Petersburg feeling gradually quieted down and Iswolski agreed to the Conference and conditions. Russia also agreed not to bring up the question of the Straits. Stolypine, the Russian Prime Minister, had pointed out the danger of alienating the Western Powers in pressing the matter.

In January 1909 an understanding between Austria and Turkey was reached. The Turks expressed their willingness to recognise the *fait accompli* in return for an indemnity and negotiations were concluded on February 26th. This, however, infuriated the disappointed Serbs who had been counting on a Conference and compensation. The danger of war now increased instead of diminishing. General Conrad von Hoetzendorf, Chief of the General Staff, was anxious to crush Serbia once and for all and whilst Russia was not in a position to help her protégé. Von Moltke, the German Chief of Staff, agreed with his Austrian colleague. Aerenthal seems to have been of the same opinion at first, though later he changed his

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mind as he came to the conclusion a war with Servia would not be worth while as Austria desired no extension of territory. He regarded the incorporation of Servia within the Dual Monarchy as a solution for a later date. Austria consequently decided to keep the peace provided Servia acknowledged the annexation and Russia gave her unconditional assent.

On March 2nd Russia advised Servia to suspend military measures. On March 10th Servia declared her willingness to leave the decision of the Bosnian Question to the Concert of Powers. Austria was not satisfied with the Servian Note because this did not explicitly recognise the annexation. On March 13th a Council of Ministers was held in St. Petersburg to decide what action Russia should take. It was agreed not to intervene in a war between Austria and Servia as Russia was still unprepared.

While the negotiations were proceeding with England and France regarding the declaration to be made by Servia, Berlin was informed that Austria was prepared to request the formal sanction of the Powers provided they bound themselves beforehand to give their consent. Prince Bülow thereupon instructed Count Pourtalés, the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to inform the Russians that Germany would advise Austria to obtain the formal consent of the Powers but Russia must agree to the Austrian Note without reservation. A definite answer "Yes" or "No" was required. This communication was delivered on the afternoon of March 22nd. On March 23rd Iswolski recognised the dilemma and gave the desired declaration. This was an intense humiliation for Russia as both the Czar and Iswolski had promised the Serbs not to recognise the annexation, but the alternative had been the immediate invasion of Servia by Austria.

In Vienna they again changed their minds and the War Party prevailed. On March 29th at a Council active measures were decided upon and orders issued for mobilisation. But on March 31st Servia issued her Note in which she recognised the annexation and promised to disarm. No Conference took place. Prince George was reported to have murdered

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his valet in a fit of temper and he renounced his accession to the Throne. Count Aerenthal declared the crisis at an end.

#### 5. CRETE

IN 1908 the revolution in Turkey, combined with the Austrian annexation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the declaration of Bulgarian independence, stirred up the Cretan Question acutely. It was a question which, as Princess Radziwill remarks, was extremely complicated. It was one of the subsidiary complications of the Eastern Question. Crete, the "Fair Greek Island," reputed to be the mythical birthplace of Zeus, had been a source of constant trouble to the Porte ever since its acquisition in 1669 when the Turks finally conquered it from the Venetians to whom it had belonged since the beginning of the thirteenth century. Later, during the nineteenth century, after the rebirth of Greece, it became a recurrent care to the European Powers and continued so until the Island was definitely incorporated within Greece by the Treaty of LONDON of May 30th, 1913.

There were more than a dozen insurrections between the years 1821 and 1913. These were largely due to Turkish misgovernment and also to squabbles between the Moslems and the Christians, as the latter desired to be united with Greece. In 1866 the Islanders revolted, convoked a General Assembly, declared their independence of Turkey and proclaimed their union with Greece. The Turks suppressed the revolt and in 1868 granted reforms embodied in what is known as the "ORGANIC STATUTE." This complicated instrument proved unworkable and in 1876 considerable modifications were demanded. The outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877 stimulated the Cretans to demand complete autonomy and they appealed to the Powers. Article XXIII of the famous BERLIN TREATY merely confirmed the application of the Organic Statute whilst permitting such modifications "as might be considered equitable." Later an amendment known as the "PACT OF HALÉFA," so-called after the district of Canea, the Capital, in which the Consular representatives of the

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Powers resided, was signed on October 12th, 1878. This provided for further reforms, including the use of Greek as the official language. In 1885 the Christians in Crete again proclaimed their union with Greece and Abdul Hamid promptly abrogated the PACT OF HALÉPA. However, in 1896 after pressure from the Powers the Pact was revived, a Christian Governor-General appointed, an Assembly summoned and the Christian leaders prepared a scheme of reforms which were approved by the Powers and accepted by the Sultan. But in the following year, after a Moslem riot during which a part of the Christian quarter of Canea had been burnt down, a National Pan-Greek Society in Greece forced the King to intervene. This led to war between Turkey and Greece. The Powers, with the exceptions of Austria-Hungary and Germany who had withdrawn from the Concert, occupied coast towns in the Island and in 1898 after the British Vice-Consul in Candia had been murdered ordered the Turks to leave. In April 1899 a new and liberal Constitution was drafted by a young Cretan lawyer, the celebrated Monsieur Venizelos, and Prince George of Greece was invited by the Powers to act as High Commissioner. In 1905 the Islanders again proclaimed the Union, Prince George resigned and was succeeded by Monsieur Ziamis, a former Greek premier. On October 12th, 1908, the Assembly voted the Union of the Island with Greece. As the High Commissioner happened to be absent on leave a provisional Government of six members, including Monsieur Venizelos, was appointed to govern the Island in the name of the King of the Hellenes, but Monsieur Theotokis, the Greek Prime Minister, was not sympathetic and ignored the Cretans. The British Government took the attitude that nothing should be done which might impair the new régime in Turkey. The Italians maintained the view that no alteration in the *status quo* should be permitted without the consent of all the Powers. Austria-Hungary and Germany seem to have been sympathetic towards the idea of union. The Concert declared its willingness for the question to be discussed with Turkey provided order were maintained

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in the Island and the security of the Moslems assured. Months passed and nothing was effected, and meanwhile after the April *coup-de-théâtre* of 1909 which brought down Abdul Hamid and his régime, the rejuvenated "Young Turks" who were becoming more exacting protested and attempted to revert in Crete to a state of affairs prior to 1898. The Powers expressed their intention of maintaining the *status quo*. On July 26th, 1909, the protecting forces withdrew from the Island. The moment the foreigners had departed the Cretans hoisted the Greek flag. The Porte instructed its Minister in Athens to demand an official disavowal. His Excellency was informed that the matter was in the hands of the Powers. A further note of protest was dispatched. On August 18th the Powers landed parties of Marines and cut down the flag-staff with the offending flag.

These events in Crete led to complications in Greece, including a military revolt and trouble in the navy at the Piræus. Venizelos was summoned by the rebels and he remained to advise the King, by whom he was invited to form a Cabinet in October 1910. In 1912 in March a general election was held in Greece during which the Cretans elected a number of deputies, but these were not allowed to take their seats by Venizelos as the latter wished to avoid complications at that time. However on October 14th, that is to say four days before the declaration of war with Turkey, Venizelos admitted the Cretans to the Greek Chamber, and the long-desired union with Greece was confirmed by the Treaty of LONDON of May 30th the following year at the close of the First Balkan War.

### 6. *TRIPOLI*

IN 1890 Signor Crispi had suggested to Lord Salisbury that the occupation of Tripoli by Italy would not be of disadvantage to Great Britain. Lord Salisbury was not particularly responsive to this idea, but he could not very well oppose it in view of the Mediterranean Agreement of 1887 between Austria, Italy and Great Britain whereby the *status quo* was



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to be maintained in the Adriatic, the Ægean and the Black Sea, but if there were any alteration, then Italy would support Great Britain in Egypt and Britain would reciprocate as regards Tripoli. In 1902 Italy had an understanding with Austria she would not be opposed in that region, and at the same time Italy promised France that she would offer no objection to French activities in Morocco for a *quid pro quo* in Tripoli, and Italian neutrality was guaranteed in the event of a German attack on France. Then in the autumn of 1909 the King of Italy and the Czar of Russia upon the occasion of their meeting at Racconigi reached an agreement whereby Russia would not make difficulties in the event of Italian operations in Tripoli and Italy would view with favour Russian desires with regard to the "Straits." Thus was the ground prepared for the Italian campaign.

The Bosnian crisis of 1908 had stimulated Italy's pretensions, but the Morocco crisis combined with Turkish troubles in Albania decided her to act. Also there had been obstruction on the part of the Turks to Italian commercial enterprises in Tripoli, and so on September 26th Italy sent an ultimatum to the Porte. War was declared by Italy on September 29th and on October 5th troops were landed. Early in November Signor Giolitti proclaimed the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. However, the campaign was very much more formidable than had been anticipated by Italy and the continuance of the war alarmed the European Powers. The Balkan states were showing signs of restlessness. At first Aerenthal viewed the coming struggle with comparative indifference, but General Conrad von Hoetzendorf enquired whether an attack on Italy might not solve the Italian problem and whether this might not be an opportunity to proceed in the Balkans. Aerenthal was wholly opposed to these suggestions and the General was obliged to resign in December. On October 23rd the Russian Ambassador to the Porte, Monsieur Tcharykoff, offered the Turkish Government a Russian guarantee for Constantinople and the surrounding district in return for the freedom of the Straits. Turkey,

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who was thoroughly alarmed by this offer, appealed to France and Great Britain with a view to an alliance, but met with a refusal. Russia repudiated the action of her Ambassador and maintained that he had acted without authorisation. France was in a difficult position as she was favourably disposed towards Italy but she was anxious for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Turkey. Germany was equally embarrassed. She desired to maintain good relations with the "Young Turks" and she felt if she were to support Italy her position in Turkey would be jeopardised; on the other hand, if she supported Turkey, Italy might then desert the Triple Alliance. Thus Germany endeavoured to mediate between the two. Austria discountenanced an Italian attack on Turkey's European mainland possessions but was agreeable to Italy's attacking the Islands. In the spring of 1912 the Italians occupied Rhodes, Samos and a number of other islands in the Ægean Sea. On February 17th Aerenthal died and was succeeded by Count Berchtold, the former Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg and a member of the old Austrian aristocracy, whose castle of Buchlau was the scene of the misunderstanding between Iswolski and Aerenthal which led to the Bosnian crisis. In June Poincaré proposed a conference of the Powers to discuss the problems of Tripoli and the Straits and desired that the Entente and the Allied Governments should declare their *désintéressement* in the Balkans, but the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonow, would not agree to this and Italy and Turkey refused to have their dispute settled by a conference. Meanwhile events had been moving in the Balkans. On July 12th peace negotiations were begun and peace was signed at Ouchy in Switzerland on October 18th, ten days after the outbreak of the First Balkan War.

## 7. THE BALKAN LEAGUE AND THE BALKAN WARS

### (A) THE FIRST BALKAN WAR

IDEAS of a Balkan League had existed as early as the first years after the signature of the Treaty of BERLIN, but the

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Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885 had interfered. In 1891 Trikoupis, who was then Prime Minister of Greece, had made efforts to revive the idea, but the Bulgarian statesman Stamboulow rejected his advances. The real stumbling block was the conflict of interests of the Balkan States in Macedonia. However, the "Young Turk" revolution of 1908 and the subsequent actions of the Committee of Union and Progress had so worsened matters in that part of the world that the renascent Balkan States which were interested in the fate of their co-nationals within the Turkish borders began to consider what could be done in the matter. Later the Tripoli campaign and Albanian insurrections contributed to its achievement.

Between 1910 and 1912 the relations of these States with one another improved. In 1910 the Bulgarian Tsar Ferdinand visited Cetinje to attend the celebration of King Peter of Serbia's jubilee. At Easter 1911 a number of Bulgarian students were cordially welcomed at Athens. In April that year the Greek statesman Monsieur Venizelos made a proposal to Bulgaria for a definite alliance through Mr. Bouchier, *The Times* correspondent in the Balkans. In October Monsieur Gueschoff, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, had an interview with the Servian Prime Minister, Monsieur Milanović. In February 1912 the Heirs-Apparent of the Balkan States met at Sofia to celebrate the coming of age of Prince Boris, the Bulgarian Heir-to-the-Throne, and on March 13th Serbia and Bulgaria concluded a secret Treaty for mutual defence and it was agreed to notify Russia. The Czar was appointed arbitrator to settle differences of opinion which might arise. By this Treaty both States provisionally defined their respective claims in Macedonia. Serbia was to have Old Serbia and the Sandjak of Novi Bazar. Bulgaria claimed the territory east of the Rhodope Mountains and the river Struma and also the region round Lake Ochrida, in which case Serbia was to have an addition in Northern Macedonia.

The fact of the signature of this Treaty (which was later

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followed by a military convention) was communicated by Russia to France and Great Britain on March 30th.

On May 29th Greece and Bulgaria signed a Treaty for mutual defence and for the support of their co-nationals in Macedonia. In this there was no mention of the partition of Macedonia and it was specified that if war broke out between Greece and Turkey on the question of Crete, Bulgaria who was not concerned should remain neutral. This Treaty was likewise followed by a military convention.

In the spring the Albanians had been causing a great deal of trouble to the Porte, and Turkish troops who were in sympathy with them mutinied at Monastir and demanded the overthrow of the "Young Turk" ministry. In July Mahmoud Shevket, the War Minister, resigned and he was succeeded by Nazim Pasha. In August Hilmi Pasha retired. This Albanian revolt alarmed Greece and Servia as the Albanians were demanding the cession to them of the Vilayets of Monastir and Üsküb which were coveted by those two. Bulgaria's indignation was especially aroused by the massacre of Macedo-Bulgars at Kotchana in Macedonia. In August a great popular demonstration of protest was organised at Sofia demanding immediate autonomy for Macedonia or, failing this, war against the Porte. In September Montenegro signed a Treaty in Switzerland with Servia providing for separate military action, and the League appealed to the Powers to join in demanding immediate and radical reforms in Macedonia.

The Entente Powers were unanimous that in the event of war the *status quo* in Turkey was to be maintained. France had proposed that Russia and Austria should be commissioned on behalf of the Concert to inform the Balkan States that the Concert would permit no alteration in the territory of European Turkey. The Emperor William, who was very sceptical as to the outcome of this step, gave his consent. In Vienna Count Berchtold declared that it was vital for the Dual Monarchy to prevent the Serbs from occupying the Sandjak of Novi Bazar and reaching the Adriatic. He was

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resolutely opposed to Serbia's claim to a port there and in conjunction with Italy pressed for an independent State of Albania which would prevent this.

On October 7th the Concert addressed simultaneous admonitory notes to the allied Balkan States. On October 8th King Nicholas of Montenegro declared war. On October 17th Turkey declared war on Serbia and Bulgaria, and the following day Greece declared war on Turkey. The same day Turkey signed the Treaty of Lausanne which ceded Tripoli to Italy. The Serbs occupied Üsküb, Western Macedonia, the Sandjak of Novi Bazar and a strip of Albania including Durazzo. The Greeks conquered Southern Macedonia and on November 8th they occupied Salonica. The Bulgarians within a few days had captured Kirk Kilisse and were investing Adrianople with the Turks in full retreat. At sea the Greek fleet captured several islands in the Ægean. On December 3rd the belligerents, except Greece, accepted an armistice. On December 16th their representatives met in London under the ægis of Sir Edward Grey. On December 17th the Conference of Ambassadors of the European Great Powers began its sittings concurrently and likewise under the chairmanship of the British Foreign Secretary. The object of this Ambassadors' Conference was to maintain the Concert of Europe in the difficult sphere of Balkan politics.

During the winter of 1912-13 the greater part of the Austrian and Russian armies were kept mobilised, the former particularly in Galicia. This state of affairs created a dangerous situation. In Berlin the Wilhelmstrasse exercised a restraining influence upon Austria, where General Conrad Hoetzendorf, who had returned to his post soon after Aerenthal's death, seems to have desired the overthrow of Serbia in spite of Russia's having agreed to Serbia's claim to an Adriatic port being withdrawn, and the Emperor William advised the Austrian Heir-Apparent to disarm. Thus Germany collaborated with Great Britain with success at the Ambassadors' Conference, and together these two promoted the interests of European peace.

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### (B) THE RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES AND THE SECOND BALKAN WAR

After a considerable amount of haggling—the Concert were now obliged to face the fact that the maintenance of the *status quo* was no longer possible, and they sent a Note to the Porte to this effect and recommended the acceptance of the League's terms—the Turks had at last agreed on January 22nd to accept as the boundary between Turkey and Bulgaria a line drawn from Midia on the Black Sea to Enos at the mouth of the river Maritza on the Ægean, which meant the loss of Adrianople. But the next day a *coup d'état* at Constantinople altered the whole situation. Enver Bey—one of the leaders of the "Young Turk" revolutionary party of 1908—at the head of a military deputation, burst into the Chamber where the Council was sitting, denounced the proposal to surrender Adrianople and shot the Turkish War Minister, Nazim Pasha. Kiamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier, was obliged to resign and was replaced by Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, who had assisted in the deposition of Abdul Hamid in April 1909. On February 1st the London Peace Conference broke up and the war was renewed on February 4th. On March 6th Janina fell to the Greeks and on the 26th Adrianople to the Bulgarians and Serbs. Meanwhile the King of Greece, who had taken up his residence at Salonica, had been assassinated on March 18th by a Greek and was succeeded by his son Constantine, the Emperor William's brother-in-law.

The successes of the allied Balkan States had excited the jealousy of Rumania, who demanded the fortress of Silistria from Bulgaria as the price of her neutrality. Russia handed the matter over to the Ambassadors' Conference (which continued its sittings until August). On April 19th the Turks signed an armistice at Bulair. This did not, however, include the Montenegrins, who were determined to capture Scutari in face of the refusal of the Concert—who had decided to include Scutari within the frontiers of the new Albanian State—to permit this, and in spite of an international Naval

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blockade of the coast. The Montenegrins persisted and Scutari fell to them on April 22nd. The Powers, however, insisted upon its being handed over to their representative, Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, at the beginning of May. Peace *pourparlers* were resumed in London and the Treaty of London was at last signed at St. James's Palace on May 30th. Turkey ceded all the territory west of the line from Enos to Midia to the allies, and also Crete. The Powers were to decide as to the islands in the Ægean Sea and the frontiers of Albania, but the Balkan States were to settle among themselves as to what remained.

Servia, which had evacuated Durazzo, demanded an extension of frontier in Macedonia as she was obtaining nothing in Albania and had done so much for the conquest of Adrianople. She felt that she had done more than she need but had obtained less than Bulgaria, which had done less but had received more than had originally been intended by the Treaty. Bulgaria was jealous about the Greek occupation of Salonica, but Greece desired more of Macedonia as she had had to renounce territory in Southern Albania. Thus Greece and Servia united in demanding from Bulgaria a considerable portion of Macedonia. On May 25th Servia requested a revision of the Servo-Bulgarian Treaty of March 1912. Bulgaria refused. A meeting of the Bulgarian and Servian premiers failed to effect a settlement and the Czar of Russia appealed for peace in vain. On the night of June 30th the Bulgarians attacked the Servians and the Greeks. War had broken out again for the third time. This internecine war is generally described as the "Second Balkan War."

The Rumanians, who were demanding further territory from Bulgaria, came in and on July 9th they seized Silistria without opposition and proceeded to march on Sofia. On July 20th the Turks recaptured Adrianople and marched for Tirnovo, the ancient Capital of the Bulgarian Tsars. On July 31st an armistice was concluded and a Peace Conference met at Bucharest. On August 10th peace was formally signed by the Balkan States. The Turco-Bulgarian Treaty

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of Peace was signed at Constantinople on September 29th and that between Turkey and Greece on November 14th.

The results of this last campaign were as follows. Servia obtained Central Macedonia, including Ochrida, Monastir and Kossovo, and the eastern half of the Sandjak of Novi Bazar. Greece obtained Epirus, Southern Macedonia, including the fortress of Janina and the ports of Salonica and Kavalla. Montenegro obtained the western half of the Sandjak of Novi Bazar (thus Servia and Montenegro were henceforth contiguous). Rumania obtained a large strip of the Dobrudja and Silistria from Bulgaria. Bulgaria lost the greater part of Macedonia and gained a narrow strip of territory giving access to the Ægean at the small and inferior port of Dedeagach. The Ottoman Empire had lost Crete finally and also her remaining islands in the Ægean, with the exception of two, Imbros and Tenedos, at the entrance to the Dardanelles. These were left her for strategic purposes. But Turkey had regained Adrianople, Demotika and Kirk Kilisse.

The most pregnant result of the Balkan Wars for Europe was the fact of a considerably enlarged Servia which not only blocked Austrian aspirations in the South but which would inevitably complicate matters still further for the Dual Monarchy with her own large subject Slav population. The Serbs in the recently annexed Bosnia in particular would be stimulated more than ever to subversive ideas and to make difficulties. Austria-Hungary, alive to this dangerous situation, was determined henceforward to tolerate no further trouble from her Slav neighbour. Russia, which had mobilised twice on behalf of her Slav protégé and with an agitating and powerful Pan-Slav party at home, would not be likely to do so a third time to no purpose. Thus circumstances were contributing to an inevitable Austro-Russian and to an almost certain European conflict.



## D. FINAL NOTE

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THE main preoccupations of diplomacy during the few years which preceded the outbreak of the European War and which are covered by this volume of Princess Radziwill's letters are seen to have been the problems of Morocco and the Near East. Two subsidiary but important matters were the question of Austro-Italian relations, and as it turned out to be a vital development, Germany's loss of leadership in the Triple Alliance to Austria-Hungary.

The "Eastern Question" included the efforts of the Powers to procure reforms in Macedonia; the disintegration of the Turkish Empire; Austrian difficulties with her Slav subjects arising from this, with its concomitant surging up of nationalistic sentiment among the Balkan Slavs; Russian aspirations with regard to the Straits and her desire to dominate the Balkans; and Germany's efforts to maintain close relations with the new régime in Turkey with a view to furthering her economic ambitions in Asia and her strategic position in that part of the world.

The Morocco Problem, which so nearly led to war between the European Great Powers, was settled peaceably, but it cemented the understanding between France and Great Britain into a virtual alliance. Great Britain and Russia had come to terms in the matter of Persia and other questions in 1907. And after 1912 these two approached yet closer to one another. The policy of the balance of power was coming into fashion again. The days of the Concert were drawing to a close.

Disturbing elements on the horizon were the difficulties

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which were almost certain to arise in Austria-Hungary after the death of the old Emperor Francis Joseph with its threat of disruption to the Dual Monarchy, the possibility of an Austro-Italian conflict—seldom can two allied nations have mistrusted and disliked each other so much—and the ever increasing probability of an Austro-Servian struggle. Austro-Italian differences were not bound to lead to war, certainly not to a European war, but Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans was most likely to do so. Russia appears to have taken France's co-operation in the event of war for granted, though whether the treaty arrangements between France and Russia made this incumbent upon France in the event of a quarrel between Russia and Austria seems open to question. The grouping of the Powers into opposite camps may have given the appearance of a moral if there were no written obligation to do so. A further contributory cause of war is to be sought in the failure of the Anglo-German negotiations for a rapprochement and slowing down in the rate of naval construction. This drew Great Britain yet closer within the orbits of France and Russia in spite of Sir Edward Grey's insistence that Great Britain was not under even a moral obligation to fight on their side in every circumstance if these two Powers should become involved in a conflict with the Triple Alliance, though France would appear to have taken this for granted as did Russia in her case. But perhaps the chief factor was the armaments race which developed. This created a frame of mind which looked upon a European War as sooner or later inevitable. It is difficult even now to discern whether it was fear which was responsible for the grouping of the Powers into opposite camps or the opposing groups which inspired fear. In any case it was natural in the circumstances that those Powers most directly concerned and with outstanding grievances—namely, Austria, France and Russia—should have arranged matters so as to have friends on their side and arms to their hands when the anticipated moment should arrive. And it was just as natural that Germany, faced as she was with the prospect of having to

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fight a simultaneous war on two fronts, should have felt anxiety and made preparation.

A fair weather sign was the satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations between Great Britain and Germany in connection with the possible eventual allocation of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and the initialing of the agreement on the Bagdad Railway project. It was not in the interest of Germany any more than of Great Britain to be involved in war, and Princess Radziwill, if she constantly blames German brusqueness and German policy for making mistakes and thereby contributing to the state of tension in international relations, makes it clear that war was not the intention of responsible circles in Germany. At the same time it cannot be denied that the noisy activities of the Pan-Germanists did not help matters and thoroughly frightened their neighbours, and German Naval expansion seemed a challenge to Great Britain. The Germans seem to have been unusually insensitive to the effects of the impression they were creating abroad and not to have realised England's susceptibility to appearances. And yet if the Ambassadors Conference had been in existence in 1914, or it had been resuscitated in time, there is little reason to doubt that Anglo-German co-operation would again have done much to smooth matters over or at least would have postponed the issue, when existing grievances and the question of armaments on Land and Sea might even then have ultimately been settled by patient negotiation through the customary diplomatic channels.

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